THE BLACK PANTHER

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Black Community News Service

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REVOLUTIONARY PEOPLE'S CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION

HOWARD UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON, D.C.
NOVEMBER 27, 28 & 29, 1970



HUEY P. NEWTON, MINISTER OF DEFENSE WILL READ THE PEOPLE'S NEW CONSTITUTION

TRIAL REPORT ON CHAIRMAN BOBBY SEALE AND SISTER ERICKA HUGGINS





The difficult task of choosing a jury to judge the guilt or innocence of Sister Ericka Huggins and Chairman Bobby Seale has begun. Charged cummulatively with aiding and abetting murder, conspiracy to murder, conspiracy to kidnap and kidnapping resulting in death, Sister Ericka and Chairman Bobby are on trial for their lives, a fact of which everyone in the courtroom is constantly aware.

Before the first candidate was examined, Charles Garry, defense attorney made two motions. The first was that the press be allowed to sketch in the courtroom. Earlier that day an artist's sketches had been confiscated because they had been drawn in the courthouse. Judge Mulvey denied the motion saying only that previously another judge had so ruled and he would uphold the decision. The second motion was to have the jury sequestered. Judge Mulvey denied this also; his only reason being that he had denied it when Ericka's lawyer, Katherine Rorabach had requested it earlier.

Before jury selection begins, the candidates are told what function they will perform if chosen to serve. Although the instructions are given with only the jury, the judge and the defendants present, the transcripts of those proceedings are read to the spectators and the press when they are later admitted into the courtroom. Mulvey repeatedly mentioned the phrase "Innocent until proven guilty" and stated that the standard of proof in a criminal case is higher than that in a civil case. He also stressed that the burden of proving guilt is on the state.

While it appeared that the statement indicated the impartiality of the court, it soon became clear that it served only to tell the prospective jurors what to say when examined. The judge's instructions anticipated the answers to many defense questions by telling the inexpeienced jurors what the correct answers were. They were told repeatedly that a policeman is the same as anyone else and that grand jury indictments do not indicate guilt. Because of this, the defense has been forced to examine individual candidates at length, often two to three hours before their true feelings and prejudices are revealed to the court.

The defense strategy seeks to eliminate jury candidates on at least three basic points. Their questions attempt to discover the candidates degree of exposure to negative publicity, their level of racism and their amount of complicity with law enforcement agencies. The responses which the defense questions evoke usually force the court to excuse a juror. If the court does not do so, the defense must use a pre-emptory challenge. The constitution of the two panels exhausted this week bears out the defense claims that the jury selection process discriminates against the young, the poor and the non-white. The median age of the candidates is 49 years old and of the first 100 people only three were Black. The amount of monetary compensation that a juror receives ($10 a day) has also eliminated several poorer candidates.

The defense lawyers have said that old middle-aged white people could not understand the defendants or the majority of defense witnesses, given their difference in background, life styles and language. One prospective juror has said that she has no idea of how Black people are living, "never associated with them." And then the woman said she "knew" the defendants had killed "one of their own color", and left honestly not understanding why she had been so readily excused.

Thus far 100 candidates have been considered, of these only two have been accepted as jurors. Both State's Attorney Markle and the defense attorney have used two of their 60 pre-emptory challenges to eliminate four persons from the jury. One of Charles Garry's challenges was used against an insurance investigator who works closely with the police, in fact doing police work. Markle made use of one of his challenges to reject a man heavily involved in union work. The remaining number have been excused by the court for various reasons. Among the reasons given were because of hardship, because the juror would believe the word of a policeman over a layman, because the juror felt arrest or indictment evidenced guilt, because the juror had a firm opinion of the case already, because of prejudice against the defendants or the Black Panther Party, because the juror did not believe in capital punishment, and because the juror felt Ericka and Bobby could not get a fair trial.

Of the jurors accepted, both are male, one is White and one is Black. The first is a 37 year old mailman who attended eight years of grammar school. His wife is a factory worker and he has stated that "as far as I am concerned, I'd be a too good juror". He said that he had no feelings either way about the Black Panther Party and his only regret about serving was that he would miss the Christmas overtime at the Post Office.

Also, chosen was a 64 year old man who was the only Black on the first panel of 50. He is a retired floor man from Olin-Matheson.

He has three sons, two of whom are unemployed. He has two nephews on the New Haven police force whom he rarely sees. He says he knows nothing about the case of the Panthers.

The question of whether or not the State will seek the death penalty was raised this week. Although Markle has neither confirmed nor denied it, it seems fair to assume that he will. Markle has made motions which Mulvey has granted, challenging for cause jurors who are categorically opposed to the death penalty. Both defense lawyers introduced a study by a law professor at the University of Chicago which found that a death oriented jury is also a conviction oriented jury. Later when a young Black woman appeared well on her way to being chosen, Markle asked if she would consider the death penalty. Despite the concerted efforts of Garry, Rorabach and even Mulvey, the woman insisted that she could never decide whether another person should live or die. When the judge finally told her that she was excused, Attorney Rorabach rose to present another argument against dismissing people because they do not believe in the death penalty. She noted that they were picking a jury to decide a verdict and not to determine the sentence. She said that it would be possible to empanel another jury for sentencing if necessary and that it was unfair to continue to search for a conviction prone jury because there was a possibility hat they would have to consider sentencing. Her arguments were recorded but made no immediate difference. Sometime later, a man simply said "I don't believe in an eye for an eye" and he was excused.

The third panel will be sworn in on Tuesday, Nov. 24th. At this rate it seems likely that the first ten panels will be defeated within a month, making necessary a whole new series of panels. It appears evident that jury selection will extend into the next few months, far exceeding the 4 week period in which a jury was chosen for the trial of Lonnie McLucas.

Registration Form

for REPRESENTATIVES or INDIVIDUALS for the

REVOLUTIONARY PEOPLE'S CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION

November 27-29, 1970

UNLESS OTHERWISE NOTIFIED OF CHANGE:
CHECK-IN CENTER IS ------All Souls Unitarian Church
Pierce Hall
16th & Harvard ST. N.W.
Washington, D.C.

CHECK-IN TIME STARTS ------ Friday, November 27th at 9am thru
Saturday November 28th, 12 Midnight

We suggest to all people, representatives and parties of organizations to arrive early as possible starting Friday, November 27th 9am so that everyone can be properly assisted in getting housing and other necessary information that many thousands will need to know for the duration of the Constitutional Convention.

(Cut along this line and mail this section of the Registration)

Please check all appropriate squares:

_I AM COMING TO THE REVOLUTIONARY PEOPLE'S CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION
_I WILL NOT NEED HOUSING ARRANGEMENTS.
_I WILL NEED HOUSING ARRANGEMENTS.
_I WILL NOT NEED TRANSPORTATION. I WILL NEED TRANSPORTATION
_I INTEND TO BRING___SLEEPING BAGS,___BLANKETS,___MATTRESSES
_OTHER MEMBERS OF MY ORGANIZATION WILL ALSO ATTEND. HOW MANY? ___
_I WOULD LIKE TO ESTABLISH A CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION INFORMATION CENTER IN MY AREA. (If this is for an organization, please send name, address and other pertinent particulars.)
PLEASE SEND REGISTRATION BLANKS, INFORMATION ETC., SO THAT I MAY AID THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION BY DUPLICATING AND DISTRIBUTING MATERIALS, LEAFLETS, POSTERS, BUMPER STICKERS, ETC.

I AM PLANNING TO BRING __CHILDREN WITH ME.
I WILL ENCLOSE $_______TO HELP WITH THE COST OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION.
(ALL CHECKS SHOULD BE MADE OUT TO CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION COMMITTEE c/o UNITY BANK AND TRUST, WARREN STREET, ROXBURY, MASS.)

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NAME____

STREET ADDRESS_____________________________________

CITY____________________STATE___________ZIP_________

HOME PHONE______________ORGANIZ.____NON-ORGANIZ.________

PHONE (FOR ORG.)__________ADDRESS__________________

CITY______________________STATE____________________

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Survival Through Service To The People

MAIL THIS REGISTRATION FORM TO:

Western Regional Headquarters
National Headquarters - Ministry of Information
1048 Peralta Street - W. Oakland, California
(415) 465-5047/48/49

Midwest Regional Headquarters
Illinois Chapter
2350 W. Madison -Chicago, Illinois
(312) 738-0778/779

Northeast Regional Headquarters
East Coast Ministry of Information
1370 Boston Road - Bronx, New York 10457
(212) 328-9911/9009

Southern Regional Headquarters
Ministry of Information
2327 18th St., NW - Wash., DC 20009
(202) 265-4418/19

THE RPCC WILL BE IN WASHINGTON DC

The RPPC will be held in Washington, D.C., on Thanksgiving week end

The contrast between the architects of our present 183 year old Constitution and the writers of the new Constitution, waiting to be born, are striking.

The people who drafted the present Constitution had already won a Bourgeois Democratic Revolution. They were middle-aged, rich, white men. Many had slaves.

Those who will meet in Washington have yet to wage the American Socialist Revolution. They will be young, poor, multi-racial men and women.

Liberation Union, a Los Angeles Marxist-Leninist group, had a delegate, Donald Freed, at the RPCC plenary. His glowing reports and other accounts of what went on there prompted the group to sponsor the Southern California conferences to organize for the RPCC.

We have a pretty good idea of what we want. Getting it will be the crucial problem.

'We should dream !' wrote Lenin in What is To Be Done ? Burning Questions of Our Movement in 1902. He approving quoted a man named Pisarev:

'My dream may run ahead of the natural march of events or may fly off at a tangent in a direction in which no natural march of events will ever proceed. In the first case my dream will not cause any harm; it may even support and agument the energy of the working men ...There is nothing in such dreams that would distort or paralyze labor power. On the contrary, if man were completely deprived of the ability to dream in this way, if he cound not from time to time run ahead and mentally conceive, in an entire and completed picture, the product to which his hands are only just beginning to lend shape, then I cannot at all imagine what stimulus there would be to induce man to undertake and complete extensive and strenuous work in the sphere of art, science, and physical endeavor..'

Yes, we should dream. We should dream of a new America and fight courageously and unreservedly to make it a reality.

ON TO WASHINGTON

Ned Moore
Liberation Union

THE SPIRITS OF FRED HAMPTON AND MARK CLARK LIVES!

The spirit of Deputy Chairman Fred Hampton and Mark Clark lives on.

Demonstrate your determination to stop police terror in the oppressed communities.

STRIKE!! NO SCHOOL; NO WORK on December 4th 1970.

Leave school and work at 10:00 a.m. Assemble at the People's Rally at these locations



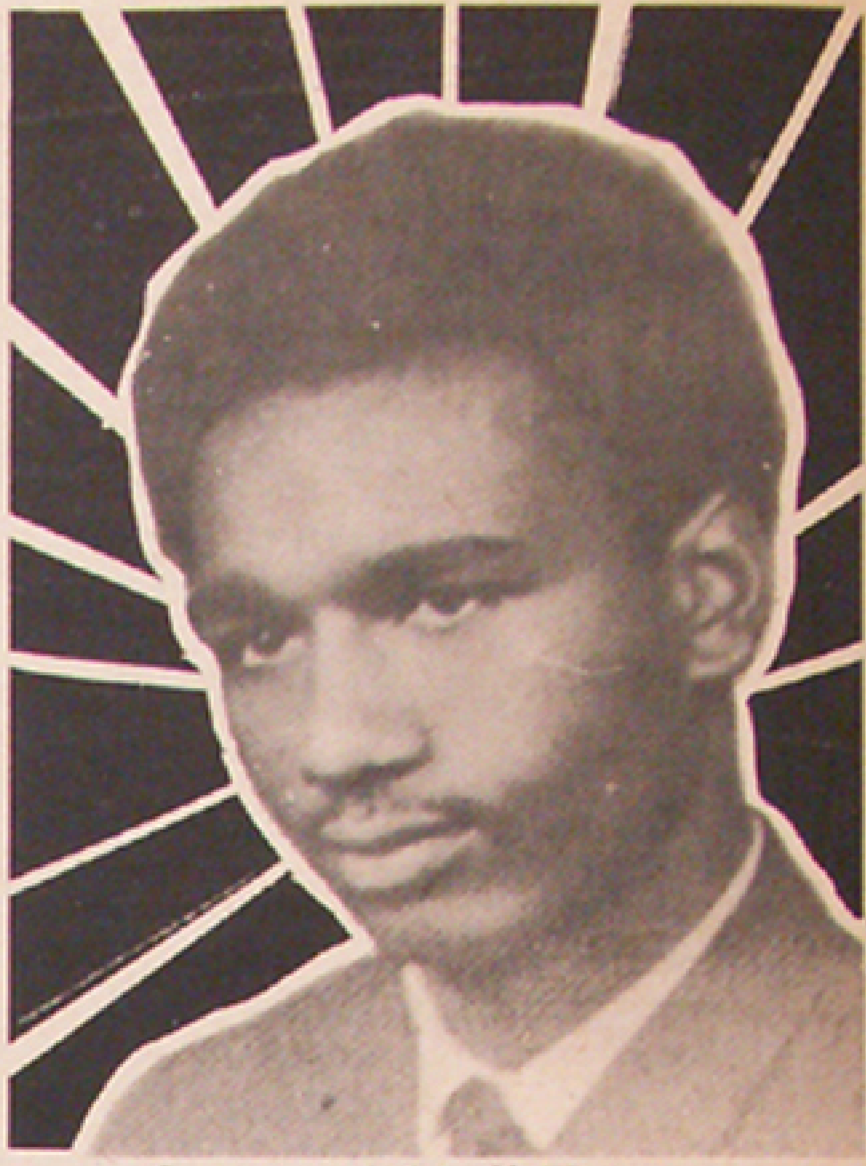
FRED



MARK

12:00 noon December 4th
South Side - Church of our Redeemer
6430 South Harvard
West Side - Church of the Epithany
201 South Ashland
North Side - Saint Dominics
Sedgwick and Locust
FREE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS
Illinois Chapter
Black Panther Party

THE SPIRIT OF SPURGEON 'JAKE' WINTERS LIVES



Spurgeon "Jake" Winters

"When they killed Jake, they took the best that humanity possessed."

Spurgeon "Jake" Winters 19, member of the Illinois Chapter, of the Black Panther Party, gave the most that one can give towards the liberation of oppressed peoples-- his life. At 3:30 A.M. Nov. 13th, 1969, Jake was murdered in a shootout in Chicago where three pigs were killed and seven were wounded.

The shoot-out was precipitated by an ambush made by the standing army of Chicago (Chicago Police Department) on an abandoned building at 5801 S. Calumet. Arriving on the scene with armaments and men (more than 1000 policemen equipped with .12 guage shotguns, M-1 carbines, .357 magnums, billy clubs, mace, tear gas, paddy wagons, helicopters and canine units) for domestic warfare against the people in the Black colony, these fanatical pigs started attack by opening fire on the brothers in the building. Party comrade Lance Bell, 20 was wounded by the pigs as they shot wildly in that area.

With these seemingly insurmountable odds, Jake defended himself as any person should do. In essence, he had no choice; it was kill or be killed. And realizing such, Jake tried to enact a basic premise of war: preservation of self and destruction of the enemy. But although Jake was equipped only with a shotgun and was murdered, the results attest to the fact that the people with their intense desire for freedom can combat the forces of aggression.

A June 1969 honor graduate of Englewood High School, Jake worked in the Breakfast for Children Program and for the Free Health Clinic; he was a member of the Education Cadre. In essence he was a servant of the people.

There can be no compromise with the forces of oppression or the forces of fascism. The enemy must be wiped out thoroughly , completely and resolutely. And we say, "Right on, Jake."

Jake, a dedicated brother will never be forgotten and not primarily for the things named. But primarily because he lessened the forces of aggression and because he said as Alprentice "Bunchy" Carter, John Huggins, Sylvester Bell, "Lil" Bobby Hutton, and Larry Roberson said;

"Wherever death may surprise us, it will be welcome provided that this, our battle cry, reach some receptive ear, that another hand stretch out to take up weapons and that other men come forward to intone our funeral dirge with the staccato of machine guns and new cries of battle and victory."

LONG LIVE THE REVOLUTIONARY SPIRIT OF JAKE WINTERS!

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

Illinois Chapter
Black Panther Party

OSPAAAL SUPPORTS THE AFRO-AMERICAN PEOPLE



Angela Davis

Declaration of the executive secretariat of OSPAAAL in solidarity with the Afro-American people and Angela Davis.

The government of the United States, under the Nixon Administration, is travelling frantically toward the establishment of fascism as the logical culmination of monopoly domination over the economy and the politics of the nation.

In order to carry out its shameless aggressions against the people of the world who refuse to live under imperialist oppression, the US Government requires the complicity or the silence of domestic opinion in the United States. The criminal war unleashed against the heroic people of Viet Nam has unmasked the true face of the Yankee imperialists to such a point that, as a result of that aggression, the US Government has been unequivocally ostracized and condemned by all peoples, including large sectors of the North American people themselves.

Following the escalation of the war in Viet Nam, the Yankee imperialists have begun the escalation in Indochina, extending the war to Cambodia and Laos at the same time they set in motion the dirty policy of Indochinese fighting Indochinese. With the extension of the war to Cambodia--ordered by Nixon because of the brilliant success of the Vietnamese patriots and his government's failure to stop the liberation of the Asian peoples--Nixon coped to extricate himself from the military defeat in Viet Nam. Thus, the North American youth and other sectors of the population once more saw Nixon's total contempt for their opinion and their will confirmed, which triggered a veritable explosion of rebellion throughout the whole country. In retaliation the repressive forces of imperialism hurled themselves against the students and other radical sectors who demonstrated their justifiable repudiation of the aggressive Nixon policy. With similar objectives the Nixon Administration develops the policy of extermination of the Afro-American people carried out by its predecessors. Yankee imperialism is not content with the oppression of the people who suffer under its boot, but also practices a similar oppression against such national minorities as Indians Chicanos, etc., attempting to stifle their legitimate rebellion and sending against them troops trained in the extermination of fighters.

Nixon has unleased against the black people a repression which is to all intents genocidal, imposing a terrorism reminiscent of his Hitlerian teachers. There is systematic recourse to assassination of the leaders and fighters of the brave Black Panther Party who bring together in their struggle the best revolutionary traditions of the Afro-American people. Nixon and his administration persecute the North American Blacks in order to justify their policy of extermination.

The campaign unleashed by the Yankee Government against Angela Davis, whose only crime is that of having headed a committee to aid a group of black prisoners jailed on the infamous charge of murder, is directed not only against her, but against the entire black movement and the radical groups in rebellion. As at other times their fury has been turned on black leaders such as Huey P. Newton, Bobby Seale Rap Brown and many others, so now it is directed against Angela Davis.

Just as Yankee imperialism will be defeated and finally expelled from the countries it now oppresses in Asia, Africa and Latin America, so will it also be crushed by the Black Movement and other progressive forces that struggle to liberate themselves from internal oppression.

Today Angela Davis, Huey P. Newton, Bobby Seale and other black fighers are suffering at the hands of Yankee imperialism but their names like those of Malcolm X and Martin Luther King Jr. are already the pride of the Afro-Americans and there brothers in the struggle, in every corner of the earth.

The world voices its opinion, clamoring for the liberation of Angela Davis, victim of a vicious and dastardly accusation.

The executive Secretariat of OSPAAAL reaffirms on this occasion its resolute solidarity with the Afro-American people and with all the progressive forces that fight against yankee imperialism inside its own entrails, courageously exposing themselves to to all the risks this implies. It also calls for all the aid and solidarity their just cause deserves.

Freedom for Bobby Seale and other black fighters !
Freedom for Angela Davis !
Freedom for the Afro-American people !
Down with the Nixon Administration !
The North American people will win !

EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT OF OSPAAAL

Havana, October 31, 1970

"This great humanity has said: Enough ! And has started to move forward"

DECEMBER 20th--OUR THEORY WILL UNITE WITH OUR PRACTICE AND WOMEN WILL TRULY BE IN SOLIDARITY WITH POLITICAL PRISONERS



Behind the iron bars of the Women's house of Detention in New York.

Earlier last month, when Judge Murtagh revoked my bail, I had the ironic pleasure of revisiting the Women held inside New York City's only female detention center. In the six days that I was there, something struck me that had previously passed as another hopeless trait of capitalism. I would like to describe it here and now along with its connection to a well known principle. "Information is the raw material for new ideas". Information: Although to most sisters in the Women's House of Detention, there is little practical difference in bails of $100,000, $10,000, $1,000 and $100 a large number of women are being detained at amounts ranging from $100 to $1000. Simultaneously, a great deal of the charges accompanying these bails, are what we shall refer to as survival (or defensive) offenses. This means that these charges stem from acts which, if successful, would have eased some of the economic burden of the sister, thus eliminating any need to steal, prostitute, con, stick up or sell marijuana or drugs.

Obviously the problem, from the beginning, was an economic need thus we have a political contradiction. When the trained mercenary (police) discovered this act of defense, he at no time inquired of the sister, why she felt such a compulsion to risk death or imprisonment, for such a small act. It never occurs to him to investigate the situation fairly and objectively. He needs to make only his monthly arrest quota to insure his job security. If he makes so many arrests, his chances of promotion are greater.. He cannot maintain his job if he makes no arrest in a month, or if he only makes two arrests. We can see from this that his interest is never in fairness or objectivity. The nature of his job as a policeman, dictates that he be unjust and subjective.

Meanwhile the sister is taken to a jail cell, where she is booked and held pending trial. Noone has yet asked her if she is innocent, or if her actions were justified, or even if her children are taken care of in her absence. Either the same night or the following morning, she is taken before a judge. He does not speak to her at all. He usually takes turns, looking either at a yellow sheet of paper that has her name, address, sex age, race religion and charge or charges, or he looks at the Assistant District Attorney, who has just been told of the case minutes or hours before, has made no objective investigation himself, and is paid to be the accusor. He is not asked to discover whether or not the sister is guilty or innocent, rather he is paid to assume she is guilty, and to gather any and all information and materials to lend credence to his assumption.

The Asst. District Attorney reads off the charges with one or two new ones added for good measure, then he recites a well used speech about the criminal threat the woman poses on society. He asks the judge to set bail at some ridiculous amount that has nothing to do with the constitutional requirements for bail. He does not bother to follow those requirements because he understands that he will not be held responsible for upholding any of its codes. He has already been conditioned to ignore such an inefficient document.

The judge follows the suggestion of the Asst. District Attorney and sets bail. He does not ask her if she has eaten recently, if the clothes she wears are her only remnants. He doesn't ask her if her babies are fed everyday or if they have a decent house to stay in. All he does, is set what amounts to ransom and confines her to a building where she is guarded, ignored and harassed. There is no point in her even dreaming about going home, because she knows she has no money. (If she did she wouldn't be there anyway). Her friends have no money, or if they do, it is just enough to survive with. She faces a one to three year sentence, or even a six month sentence and she cannot post bail or hire a lawyer. She lays there waiting.

The court appoints, at random, a legal aid. He is employed by the state. He is given approximately ten caseloads a day and is either unable, or chooses not to adequately defend any of them. He has very little time to file all the complex motions necessary. The thought of a trial is repugnant to him (because he knows he can't (or won't) prepare for one.)

The legal aid confers with his "client" only on the days she comes to court. He periodically takes a porfolio of cases to the Asst. District Attorney and asks for deals, in return he promises not to take the state through the costly trial process. He then tells his client to cop out to a lesser charge so that she can get out of jail at the "earliest possible time." She has very little choice. In fact she has no choice she accepts. The judge first gives her a long speech about her "criminal nature" and tells her to rehabilitate so she can be an "asset to society." Then he gives her ninety days or six months. Sometimes he gives her a year. She is trapped!

She spends the entire sentence counting off days. In jail, she hustles to survive. Strange isn't it? Even in jail, the name of the game is money. She cannot buy cigarettes, personal basic necessities or the Sunday newspaper. The economic need is till there. Her instinctive compulsion for survival moves her to, in effect, pimp off her sisters in jail.

One of the other restrictions of women's jails, is communications. There is no history of either political or religious struggle, in women's detention centers. There were no Muslims who banded together ten years ago for any group victories, against the administration. As a result, these sisters are just now beginning to feel as though they are a part of the revolutionary struggle for complete liberation. The cry to free political prisoners is not one which they readily associate with. We have not done enough to help them understand our concern for them. As a result of these conditions, a group of women in New York, have come together in order to eliminate some of these conditions.

We are organizing brigades of women to force the prison administration to admit us into these pig pens so that we can find out from the sisters themselves, what their specific needs are. We will then take steps to meet those basic needs (just as in the medium security of our communities, we are trying to meet the basic needs of our people). We will begin to take the necessary steps to insure the welfare of our sisters. Where there is a bail of an amount that we can raise, we will bail the sister out of the pig pen. We are beginning to send letters inside, so that the sisters know that we are putting our theories into practice. We want to utilize all of the progressive services available so that these sisters are given better treatment. The only way to educate is to communicate. We need help in all areas. We need money, decent jobs, advice, stamps, paper, revolutionary pressure on the prison administration and help for sisters who were addicts at the time of their arrest. We need clothes, houses, beds, every and anything. We need people to help us turn this idea into a revolutionary reality.

On December 20, 1970, there will be an evening rally at the house of Detention to demonstrate our solidarity and to inform the sisters of what we are doing. It will also be in support of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam's eight point program. For information or offer of services please contact: Afeni Shakur, East Coast Ministry of Information, 1370 Boston Road, Bronx, New York, 10457. Phone: 328-9009 or 328-9911 Home: 537-5091

Solidarity in the Struggle!
Means Sharing in the struggle!

Afeni Shakur
New York 21 Communications
Secretary
Black Panther Party

PIGS MURDER FATHER AND SON WITHOUT PROVOCATION



The family of John Daniels and John Williams

We as Black and oppressed people understand that as Babylonian (American) citizens, we are subject to brutality, torture, and murder at any given time. We know that death comes in many forms. Sometimes overtly like when pigs gun down the people on the streets and some times covertly like the need for medical facilities, food, shelter and clothing. However when blatant coldblooded murder stretches out and strikes down one of our potential warriors we are reminded in a very cruel manner that death will continue to be our fate as long as we remain prisoners in the minimum security prisons of Babylon.



The body of John Daniels

Our very existence is at stake when a ride in an automobile down the street of the black colony leads to humiliation, torture, and murder. On a cloudy Monday afternoon at approximately 2:00 p.m. John Daniels 39 and his son John Williams 22, took their last automobile ride. The 2 brothers along with sisters Ruth Howard 19, Yvonne Jones and brother Moses McCloud were on their way back to New Jersey from New York when three pigs of the N.Y. City Narcotics Detective Squad pulled along side their car as they rode down Atlantic Avenue in Brooklyn and told them to pull over. As the three pigs did not identify themselves, John D. continued to drive. A few minutes later the same car reapproached John's car, only this time one of the pigs held a gun out of the window and forced them on to the curb at Atlantic and Nostrand Ave.--the heart of the Black community. Without warning or the slightest provocation, three pigs--Thomas Arnett, Paul Weidenbaum and Anthony Palmieri drew their service revolvers and emptied them into the automobile with no regard to the hundreds of people, men women and children, who had gathered to witness the slaughter. John Daniels, was fatally wounded and John was critically wounded. After reloading their revolvers the racist sadistic pigs approached the car. The three surviving victims (2 sisters and 1 brother) were snatched from the car and lined up against the pig car. John William's lifeless body was dragged from the car and thrown in the street. John Daniels who was dying was thrown on the street and shot again in the head and chest. The older brother Moses McCloud was handcuffed and taken to Grant Ave. pig pen where he was severly beaten. The two sisters Ruth Howard and Yvonne Jones were also taken to the pig pen where they were forced to strip-naked in front of the sadistic perverted pigs for their amusement.

The pigs, have stated that it was self-defense. Although eyewitness reports stated that the victims were armed. It was also stated that they never drew or used their guns and that all of the fire came from pigs. Black people must learn to take the necessary action to shoot first to prevent the annihilation of our people. We as oppressed people must never relax our vigil, for in the minimum and maximum security prisons of Babylon death is at every corner. With our lives at stake constantly

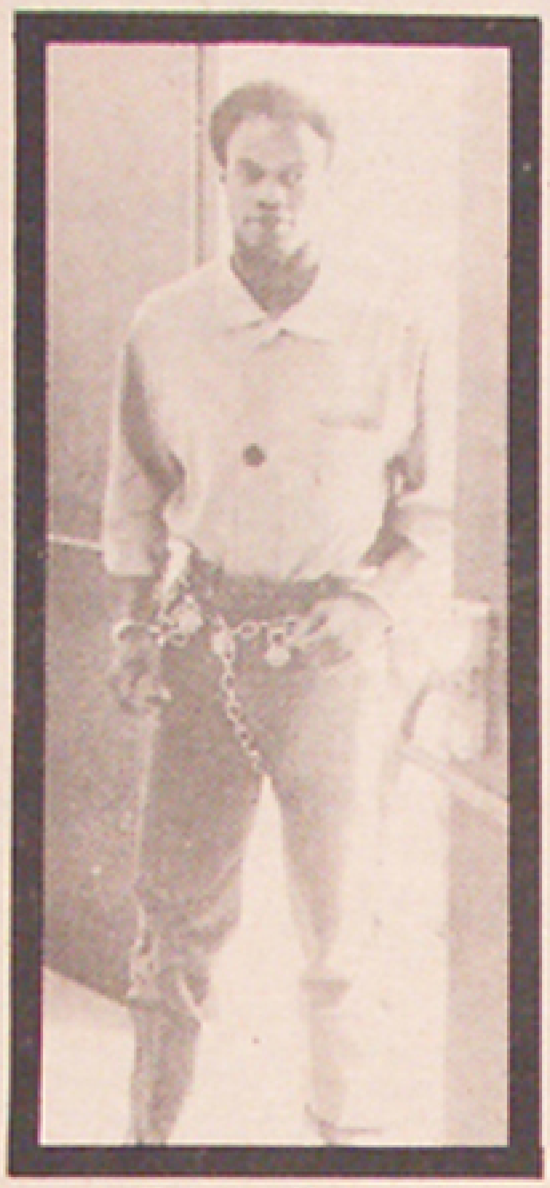


The body of John Williams

we should not hesitate to kill and die for our freedom. To be inactive, to hesitate is reactionary suicide --a meaningless death that only serves the oppressor. If we must die let it be in an attempt to gain our freedom. And if it must be suicidal let it be revolutionary suicide.

Brooklyn Branch
Black Panther Party

TO THE PEOPLE--MESSAGE FROM FLEETA DRUMGO



Fleeta Drumgo

The majority of the people in America have been immobilized by the thought of death. Revolution to many persons seems to mean dying, and actually, the people are dying everyday. The people must know that the revolutionary movement of today is to change the existing conditions which have and are continuously destroying the people in general, the black people in particular.

Revolutionaries aren't militants; they're a segment of the people devoted to gain that which is and has been denied the people for centuries. Their devotion is to end genocide, and U.S. fascist and imperialist aggression.

The establishment and those few who control this country care nothing or little at all about the poverty that exists surrounding them. Needless to say, they aren't concerned about their racism and exploitation besides. This reality has forced the revolutionaries' stance. This stance is taken out of love for the people and to bring about freedom and true humanity.

Nixon, Agnew, Reagan and their other flunkies, Rockefeller and J. Edgar Hoover criticize and condemn the revolutionary movement merely because the movement has and will continue to expose their deceits and repression. The riot in Watts and other cities throughout America was forced up out of deep frustrations which finally boiled over and reached its peak. The revolutionary movement today differs from those acts in Watts however. The basic elements that existed in Watts, Detroit, New Haven and other cities were caused by the decadence in which the establishment exists and the conditions it totally ignores.

Decent housing, employment, educational centers, medical facilities, child care centers are of utmost necessity throughout the black communities as well as in the Mexican and poor white communities. Countless petitions and demonstrations don't seem to have been the proper remedy. Only the revolutionary armed struggle can and will obtain those basic needs and rights that are denied us.

The black liberation movement is no longer an isolated movement, actually, it never was. The cries and fight for freedom, justice, power by the blacks are the same cries and struggle of all people who are oppressed and exploited.

Through the teachings of Huey P. Newton, Eldridge Cleaver, Bobby Seale and George Jackson, today's young black freedom fighters now have a much broader scope of direction.

Blacks had been taught through trials and tribulations that all whites were dogs and the cause of abusement that was inflicted upon our people, much of which still exists. However now more and more blacks see who the real dogs are - the capitalistic pigs and the fascist power structure, not necessarily white people.

Our beloved brother Huey P. Newton through the Party program has shown us the real murderers, rapists that enslave people in general, black people in particular.

Many people see actions of true revolutionaries as brazed and suicidal acts, but these acts or actions are motivated out of the deepest love that the people have ever encountered.

LONG LIVE THE VICTORY OF THE PEOPLE'S WAR.
DEATH TO U.S. FASCISM AND IMPERIALIST AGRESSION
ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE
Fleeta Drumgo

THE PIG PRESS LIES AGAIN!

Last week in the trial of Black Panther Party Chairman, Bobby Seale and Sister Ericka Huggins, in New Haven, Connecticut a defense motion to have the jury sequestered during the trial was denied.

The jury will be allowed to read the prejudiced accounts of the case in the paper and listen to racist news commentators give their 'public opinion' as to the guilt or innocence of the defendants. By allowing the jury to be exposed to the establishment press, judge Mulvey, in conjunction with the fascist U.S. government, is insuring the railroad of Chairman Bobby and Ericka to the electric chair. To gather support on a national level, the pigs all across the country have intensified their verbal defamation and actual harassment of the Black Panther Party.

In the dark hours of this morning, Nov. 23rd., the Compton pig department raided a house of some members of the Black community. In the raid on the house at 361 W. Fig St., the pigs stole weapons and ammunition. A few hours later, the pig press reported that the pigs had raided the Compton Headquarters of the Black Panther Party and seized a large cache of weapons, 40 sticks of dynamite and written plans to attack police stations.

This alledged 'Panther fortress' is in no way connected with the Black Panther Party, or our offices, or our N.C.C.F. community centers. By indoctrinating the community with this false information, the pigs hope to build support to justify gestapo raids on the Black Panther Party.

By a constant program of intense harassment and character slander against the Party the pigs are waging a frantic propaganda campaign through the press to salvage even an ounce of recognition in the community.

This propaganda campaign is designed to insure the fascist railroad to prisons or gas chambers of all Panthers. When Panthers are constantly being vilified by the press, it is impossible to get an impartial or unbiased jury. Panthers like Ronald Freeman in Los Angeles, Rory Hithe and Landon Williams in Denver, the N.Y. 21, and Chairman Bobby and Sister Ericka in New Haven will never be able to receive a fair trial anywhere in Babylon.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE
L.A. CHAPTER
BLACK PANTHER PARTY

WARRANT ISSUED FOR BLACK PANTHER ATTORNEY CHARLES R. GARRY

A warrant has been issued for the arrest of Charles R. Garry, chief attorney for the Black Panther Party. The warrant was issued by Pig Judge Staats in Alameda County (Calif.) to be applied when Garry returns to the jurisdiction of his court.

The pigs ordered attorney Charles Garry to appear in Alameda County Superior Court last week to defend clients in another case, knowing that in New Haven Connecticut the trial of Chairman Bobby Seale and Ericka Huggins of the Black Panther Party was schedualed to start that same week and that it is impossible for a person to be in two places at once.

Charles is now in Connecticut defending Bobby and Ericka and has been charged with contempt of court for failing to appear in court in California. If Garry had stayed in California and failed to appear in Connecticut pigs would have found him in contempt in Connecticut. This is a vicious, fascist circle trying to silence another freedom fighter.

Charles R. Garry has been fighting for and defending the Black Panther Party in the courts of fascist America indefatigably for three years. In 1967 he fought for the life of Huey P. Newton, our beloved Minister of Defense, who now with the revolutionary love and assistance of Charles Garry is back on the streets with us fighting fascism. For that fact alone we are grateful to him. In the course of those three years he has made himself a faithful servant to the people and the party by exposing fascism in the courtrooms of America. Now he is fighting for the lives of Chairman Bobby Seale and Ericka Huggins who are innocent of the crimes they have been accused of. He is challenging the pig judges, district attorneys and the American Empire by fighting for true justice and the rights of the people.

Now we must defend Charles Garry who has and is giving his life in defense of the people's right to life, liberty and the persuit of happiness. We must fight together if we are ever to live in harmony with each other. Attorney Charles R. Garry is fighting with us so it is now our turn to defend him. The masses of people are the most powerful force in the world. It was essential that the people's power be behind our revolutionary lawyer in freeing Huey. Now it is essential that the people demonstrate their power even more by defending Charles R. Garry so that he may assist us in freeing Bobby, Ericka and all other political prisoners and bring death to the fascist pigs of the American empire.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

National Headquarters
Black Panther Party

PEOPLE FOR THE PEOPLE

Since the inception of the Black Panther Party, an armed, organized political body of Black people, in 1966, many new Black organizations have sprung up. Some of them are revolutionary and sincere, some are just sincere, but most of them are individualistic and opportunistic. However, as more and more organizations are being formed in the Black community, the bad ones are being weeded out from the productive ones. Only the people are the righteous examiners of the social practice of any organization set up in their community and claiming to exist solely to serve them.

We find that as more and more organizations sprout up within our communities the ones most likely to succeed are those based on a platform either adopted from the 10-point Platform and Program of the Black Panther Party or those who basically meet the immediate needs and desires of the people of that community. The ones that succeed are those that truly serve the people.

People For The People, a fairly new organization founded upon the need for drug control and education in the heavily drug infested community of Corona-East Elmhurst, does not surface as an opportunistic type program. It is manned by a hard working team of dedicated brothers, some of them ex-drug addicts, most of them brothers off the street. This program is not funded by the city nor the government. It is an independent organization working solely on its own. At the present time they are working towards moving their office location from Astoria Blvd. and 96th street to Northern Blvd. and 108th St. At their present located on Astoria Blvd., they are in an area that could generally be classified as middle-class. However, by moving to Northern Blvd. they will be combining and working with both elements of the Black social structure of Corona-East Elmhurst - the Black petty bourgeoisie and the Black Lumpen.

People For The People are in the process of fixing up the two story building on 108th Street and Northern Blvd., which they will use as their office. They have the use of the entire building and plan to implement such programs as Breakfast for School Children, activities for the people of the community, a day-care center, advice on Parent and Child relationships as well as drug education and prevention program. The office will be opened 24 hours a day and the telephone number will be made available for the community.

Anyone willing to help work on the office should contact People For the People to volunteer their services.

The Black Panther Party supports People For The People and is willing to work along with our brother-organization as long as their social practice proves them revolutionary and sincere. We see the need for a more unified community and a working coalition with the Black Panther Party and People For The People is a step in that direction.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE
Diahnee Jenkins
Corona Branch
Black Panther Party

"THE DUNGEON"

EXPOSING CONDITIONS IN TOLEDO'S LUCAS COUNTY JAIL

Standing at 814 Jackson St. in the heart of the law and order section of downtown Toledo, Ohio, is a infamous building apporpriately named "The Dungeon" by its inhabitants. It is known by uninformed citizens of Toledo as the Lucas County Jail run by Sheriff Metzer.

This jail is over 80 years old and was built to hold a maximum of 150 inmates in 1887. The present total population is over 200 inmates of which approximately 150 are Black. The rest of the inmates are Mexican-American or White. Although the inmates are from different ethnic groups, they all come from the game oppressed class of people in this city and county. So therefore they could not get their stories of starvation atrocious unsanitary conditions, and inhuman treatment, (comparable to a medival dungeon) printed in the power structure's pig news media.

After relating to these brothers for almost a month on the purpose of the Black Panther Party and the voice of the people, the Black Panther Paper, they agreed to tell their stories knowing they would be published in the people's paper. Some of their's and our personal experiences and observations are told factually and truthfully to the people for the first time.

In the maximum security section there are five useable cells with the sixth cell converted into a shower. Each cell is approximately 6'x8' containing two inmates per cell. Sleeping facilities consist of two small steel bunks and a thin filthy uncovered mattress or piece of foam rubber that is passed on from inmate to inmate without any type of cleaning. No sheet or bed covering except one wool blanket per inmate is issued. These bunks must be placed next to each other inside the cell in order to fit, so there is no room to move around.

To use the washbowl or toliet you must walk sideways between the bunks. Two inmates cannot move around without one getting on his bunk to let the other pass. No shelves or space is provided for clothes and personal items. The only space available is under a bunk or on it. Putting necessary items under the bunk is dangerous, because when the toilets leak or overflow as they all do, the things on the floor have to be thrown away after being contaminated.

Almost all inmates sleep with their personal belongings at the foot of their bunk. Five men are assigned to spaces in the hall of this section. These five sleeping spaces take up the entire length and half of the width of the one area accessible to inmates outside the cells. This is supposed to be an excercise area, but because of the overcrowded conditions of this jail there is barely room for two inmates to walk pass each other.

Three of these men assigned to the hall are fortunate to have steel bunks. The other two must sleep on matteresses on the floor. One of those presently sleeping on a mattress is a crippled 73 year old Black man. These five men have no privacy or toilet facilities. They must use the toilet facilities of the already crowded five cells, which were originally designed for one man per cell.

There are no lights in the cells or inside the cell range. The only light comes from the lights in the guard's hall on the outside of the cells. Seeing is difficult and reading is impossible for any length of time.

Roaches and gnats are all over the cell range. It is hard to sleep with them crawling al over the beds and inmates bodies. The toilet facilities in the cells consist of a toilet and washbowl provided with a cold water faucet only. Both are the original toilet facilities installed when this jail was built in 1887. They leak and overflow continuously, causing a foul nauseating smell to hover permanently.

There are no facilities for washing the inmates clothes. An inmates' relatives or friends must pick up his dirty clothes on visitors day and return them. Clean towels are passed out every 2 or 3 weeks when one bar of soap is given.

The food served in this jail is not fit for consumption by human beings. It is passed out in improperly washed unsanitary metal trays. Hardened food from pass meals is always present in the corners of these trays. Even though the inmates constantly complain of this, nothing is done to improve the situation. Only two meals are served each day. Breakfast is always the same. Cooked meat is served in very small portions once or twice a week. A typical days meal served in this pig pen would be: Breakfast: Two small hard rolls, and one cup of coffee with no sugar. Lunch: Egg salad on a piece of bread, stewed tomatoes-pudding, one cup of tea. Dinner: Macaroni cheese, potatoes, apple sauce with one cup of coffee, and no sugar.

The size of the portions given in each meal is very small. No seasoning is put in the food and it is served cold. It took a nine-day hunger strike and near riot to get a small packet of salt and pepper included with the dinner. Almost all food served is thrown away by the inmates because it is not fit to eat. Candy bars, cookies and milk from the jail's commissary make up the meals of almost all inmates.

All food is served and handled by sentenced inmates who have not had any type of health examination, and are liable to spread serious diseases. These same men mop the halls and empty the garbage cans of the various cell sections. They wear the same clothes while serving food as they do while working in the halls. Sometimes they keep on the same clothes for two or three days without changing.

Proper medical treatment can not be obtained . The jail doctor (Dr. Dejute) is paid $6,000 a year to do nothing but sit and issue sleeping and pain pills. He has never physically examined any inmates. He only listens to their problem and issues a pain pill. When an inmate complains of stomach trouble, sinus problems, a sore throat or anything else, all he will be given is one of these pills. Recently one inmate contracted a severe rash and infection in his genital area caused by the unsanitary conditions of the toilets. Dr. Dejute told him to put the jail's foot powder on this severe painful condition. Without examinig the inmate. Because of severe pain caused from using this powder the brother could not walk or sleep for 2 days. He had to call his family doctor who immediately told him to stop using that powder because it was dangerous to use on that type of skin problem.

The warden (Sam Lauria) is in the doctor's office at sick call. He also listens to the inmates problem and then tells the doctor if the inmates can or cannot have medical treatment. Some guards have the same sadistic attitude towards inmates being sick as the warden. One inmate had a severe toothache for four days. Finally he couldn't stand the pain any longer and began to bang his cup to gain the guards attention.

The guard stated that there was nothing that could be done for the toothache and if he didn't stop the noise, he would be thrown in the hole. This inmate was eventually placed in the "Hole" for continuing his pleading for the guard to get a dentist.

The ways of disciplining an inmate varies from being (put on fire) locked in your cell with no commissary or T.V. for any length of time felt necessary by the guards, or being thrown in the "Hole." The hole is a small brick room in the basement of the jail. It is about half the size of a regular cell. There is no heat, light or ventilation in this room. An inmate is beaten and stripped naked before he is thrown in the hole. There are no toilet facilities, so an inmate cannot keep clean. All human waste must go on the floor to be sat and slept in. No drinking water other than the water served during the meals can be obtained. The only food served is bread and water.

Women inmates are put in the hole also. If men inmates are in the hole, the guards will either wait till their time is up or let them out and put the women in. If women are in the hole, and they want to put men in there, the method is reversed.

While in the hole, if an inmate makes any noise, the guard will turn a high pressure water hose on him. Sometimes they are threatened by a German Shepheard dog. The hole is constantly damp and full of rats, roaches, spiders and all other types of crawling insects which prey on the unclothed bodies of the helpless inmates.

These are but a few examples of the inhuman, barbaric, brutal treatment suffered by the inmates of this detention center. Most inmates are awaiting bail or on trial. Therefore by the existing constitution are supposed to be innocent until proven guilty. The freedom and right guaranteed in the pigs constitution are nothing but empty promises. All the rights and freedoms of the oppressed people of Babylon have been cancelled out by the existing social and political systems, which the ruling class of American has used the constitution to create and maintain. The ruling class controls the means of production, and the institutions of this country. To maintain this control they have organized an oppressive exploitive capitalistic system that controls the lives of all people living in American and influences the lives of other peoples in the world.

In order to stop the barbaric murder of all oppressed people and change the deplorable conditions of their many communities, the people must rise up and move in a revolutionary manner to take back what is rightfully theirs from the ruling class. The first step toward making real freedom and ending oppression a reality, is to make sure that the Revolutionary Peoples' Constitution is written, so that the rights and freedoms of every person in America will not only be guaranteed, but protected by the social system implemented by the people living by it.

Raids are characterized by highly secret, quietly executed surprise attacks.

The inmates of the maximum security section and other sections of "The Dungeon" although not able to be physically present at the Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention, Nov. 27th be there 100 percent in true revolutionary spirit, so that atrocites like these will be abolished.

All the men (five Black and five White) incarcerated in this jail's maximum security section have signed this report being well aware of the physical and mental repression that will follow from the jail's administration. They wish the people to know that no matter what happens to them, they have stood up and are resisting as men.

Leonard Mayne Jr., Jimmie Jenkins, David Hill, William Brown, Leonard Mattix, Hasiel Wortham, Terry Bovee, Leo Augustyniak, Henry Burton, Raymon Gentile.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!
Mike Cross and John McClellan
The Toledo Two (Political Prisoners)
Lucas County Jail



ON THE SEATTLE EIGHT DEFENSE

'CONSPIRARE'

(LATIN ROOT OF CONSPIRACY -- TO BREATHE TOGETHER, UNITE, AGREE)

Dear Friend:

With the expansion of the war in Southeast Asia and the faltering of the economy at home, dissent has risen from every corner of America. Not surprisingly, the "law 'n order" Nixon Administration has responded to protest with its most discredited weapon, repression of political dissidents in the courts. This fall, Washington State will be the site of the second federal conspiracy trial the case of the Seattle Eight.

As you will recall, on February 17th, the day after the exorbitant contempt sentences of the Chicago trial were announced, thousands protested at the Seattle federal courthouse. Similar demonstrations occured all over the country. Two months later, seven men and one woman were indicted for breach of the anti-riot law, and conspiracy to incite the activites of February 17th in Seattle.

As Defense Attorney Michael Tigar has pointed out, the defendants are charged with no substantial acts themselves (assault, damage to property, etc.). Those charged with crossing state lines with intent to incite to riot had all been living in Seattle before the demonstration and are still living there. They are charged with meeting together, making speeches, leafletting, and other activities protected by the first Amendment. The Washington State ACLU has decided to actively support the defendants, by contributing $15,000 for legal expenses, because of the obvious violation of their right to speak and organize. In fact, the U.S. Attorney in Seattle refused to prosecute, forcing Attorney General Mitchell to send one of his own assistants to take the case.

The theory behind this kind of prosecution is the old outside agitator myth used by southern police against the civil rights movement. Today it is applied with alarming frequency to identifiable scapegoats when demonstrations occur.

The trial of the Seattle Eight will be the first real test of the conspiracy law. (The Chicago defendants were acquitted on the conspiracy charge.) Former Supreme Court Justice Robert Jackson has characterized conspiracy as "that elastic, sprawling and pervasive offense... so vague that it almost defies definition."

These eight young people face enormous court costs (minimum of $50,000), endless litigation, emotional anguish and the possibility of ten years in prison. But an even larger issue if typified by the sad comment of Tom Hayden, of the Chicago trial: "Fascism will come to American by compromise; not through the strength of reaction, but through the weakness of the good people." Many will recognize the threat to the civil liberties of all Americans inherent in the Seattle trial. But will we oppose this growing injustice, and will we give our time, our voices and our money to reverse it? The trial begins on November 9th, and several thousand dollars are needed at that time. Checks and money orders should be made payable to the Seattle Eight Defense Fund, c/o Jeffrey Steinborn of the law firm MacDonald, Hoague and Bayless, Box 1984, Seattle, Washington, 98111. Please send contribution today. The need is pressing and immediate.

Sincerely,

Seattle Eight Defense

FREE THE DETROIT 15

The judicial system is proving at every turn of events that it is impossible for Black people to receive a fair trial in Babylon. Fifteen members of the Detroit N.C.C.F. are illegally being held in the Wayne County jail. Seven brothers and eight sisters are being held on charges of murder, conspiracy to commit murder and malicious destruction of police property.

These charges stem from an incident that happened On October 24th when a nine year old youth and 2 members of the N.C.C.F. were severly beaten by the fascist pigs. The people in the community showed their contempt for the pigs by hurling bricks and bottles in their direction. In response, the pigs drew their guns and began firing into the crowd of people. An exchange of fire took place between the pigs and an unknown assailant. The results were one dead pig and one wounded pig, and a victory for the people.

Using this as an excuse the pigs raided the N.C.C.F. office. The brothers and sisters inside the office relating to Executive Mandate No. 3, defended their home in a confrontation that lasted from 6:00 p.m. to 4:00 a.m. the next morning. The pigs had alerted the national guard and they were about to enforce the McCarran Act. If the whole community would have been armed the cowardly pigs wouldn't have even come into the community brutalizing the people, the brothers and sisters would not be in jail and the people would have had an even greater victory.

As it stands now they are all being held on trumped-up charges. The sisters have ransoms of $10,000 with 2 sureties, the brothers' ransoms are $25,000 except for one brother (Ernie) whose bail ransom is $30,000 plus 2 sureties.

They have all been brutally beaten and constantly harassed by the dogs since they have been incarcerated. Cassandra limps, (due to a beating from the pigs). The entire left side of Linda's face is swollen from being beaten; David's face is also swollen from being beaten. Kim's right forearm was busted by a pig who slamed a cast iron door on it. And Jerome has severe burns (his face, neck, ears and right arm), from a pig trying to set him on fire.

They were arraigned in court on the 25th of October and had their preliminary hearing on the 30th of October. A preliminary hearing is held to determine if the pigs have enough evidence to prosecute the defendants.

If there isn't sufficient evidence produced then the defendant is to be released from custody. The pigs realizing that they didn't have any evidence whatsoever to continue the confinement of the brothers and sisters, decided to employ the fascist tactics of "the 17-man citizens grand jury". This grand jury has been given the authority to continue the confinement of the defendant on given word from the police department. "The 17-man citizens grand jury" was ruled unconstitutional by Genesee Circuit judge Elra H. Papp. Judge Papp ruled against the grand jury law on three counts.

The first issue deals with the provision in the law that a defense attorney cannot see grand jury testimony from a witness until after that witness has testified at the trial. Judge Papp found that this procedure does not "adhere to the principles of a fair trial".

"Never could I effectively prosecute or defend without thorough investigation, discovery and preparation", she said.

The second issue concerns the right of an accused person to have an effective attorney.

The judge ruled that an attorney cannot be effective when he gets a copy of grand jury testimony during the trial.

"He can neither properly prepare a defense, nor can he recommend to his client that he plead guilty without knowledge of what witnesses have said against that client" Judge Papp said.

The third issue involves the denial of a preliminary examination to persons indicated by a citizens grand jury.

"Preliminary examination or at least access to the grand jury transcript before trial is vital for one accused of a crime" she said.

A preliminary examination's purpose is to determine if there is evidence to force a person to stand trial.

Judge Papp said that under the citizens grand jury law, this is done by inexperienced lay people "acting as an arm of the prosecutor".

The pigs are desperately trying to make a case. They have no evidence, since all of the original complaints and warrants have been dismissed. But the fascists are still trying to railroad these brothers and sisters on make believe trumped-up charges. This is just another example of the need for a Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention.

DEATH TO THE FASCIST PIGS
N.C.C.F. Detroit

PIGS MURDER UNARMED BROTHER

On the morning of November 11, 1970, the Alco Bar on 8th Ave. in Harlem was robbed of $50.00 and 15 bottles of liquor. A short while later on 123rd Street and Lenox Avenue, Arthur Ross who was running with a case of liquor in his hands was shot 5 times in the head by pigs from the 28th precinct. The brother was unarmed. Arthur's brother, Albert Ross, came to his side when he fell and was immediately snatched up, handcuffed and thrown into a pig car.

The pigs sealed off 123rd St. and several pig vans carrying weapons came into the area. The pigs, suited up in bullet proof vests and armed with rifles, began breaking into homes and intimidating people on the streets. They were alledgedly looking for two more robbery suspects who were supposed to have run down 123rd St. The tension in the community began to mount and the people poured into the street and began shouting at the pigs about the murder of Arthur Ross. At this point, the police called the 'search' off and left the area.

Arthur Ross who lived at 1754 Corliss Avenue in the Bronx was 21 years old. Arthur Ross was killed like thousands of other Black youth in Babylon have been, trying to take what he needed. Throughout the ghettos of New York and all of Babylon the masses of Black youth are engaged daily in a struggle to alleviate hunger in their families, to kill rats and roaches and avoid lead poisoning in their homes. Once again the pigs killed another Black man to protect the avaricious capitalist businesses who are robbing the people daily. These types of deaths in the Black community are endless and will continue until the people strike out at the real enemy.

The real enemy is the rich ruling class of America that pays the pigs from Nixon on down to oppress Black people. They pay Nixon to carry on the war in Viet Nam. They pay the U.S. Senate to write repressive laws; they pay the judges for convictions and fascist railroadings and they pay the pigs to protect their merchants in the Black community.

To end suffering in our lives we must help to get rid of the oppressors.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

JUDGE MURTAGH AND PROSECUTOR FRANK HOGAN EXPOSED

"He's a hangman, a hatchet man, and a killer. He makes Julius Hoffman look like King Solomon." That's what New York Panther "21" lawyers say about Judge John M. Murtagh.

Before the trial had started Murtagh had been involved in quite a few racist things. He wouldn't let Lee Berry have decent medical attention for over four months while Lee was held for $100,000 ransom. Lee has since been severed from the trial, three operations and ten months after his kidnap by New York's finest from Veteran's hospital.

On June 11, 1969, an attorney was forced to beg Murtagh: "One last request, your Honor. One of the defendants, Mr. Berry, I believe. We attempted to bring him a change of shirt today. We were told by the Correction Department to bring that up to your Honor's attention as to whether he may change his shirt. He could not do it earlier, because the Correction Department said that would have to be decided by the Court. We have the shirt with us. And it would be a simple matter just to give it to him, if your Honor would approve it."

Murtagh replied: "I will allow the management of matters of that kind to be handled by the Department of Correction." (In other words, go deal with the D. of C.)

At the same time, the lawyers asked if the "21" could meet together as a group since it was impossible to prepare a defense on a "conspiracy" rap when the Panthers were spread out in dungeons all over New York. Murtagh refused saying to visit them individually does "require greater effort" but that it could be done. Then he didn't even bother to answer a request that the Panthers be allowed to see their own indictment, which the corrections department refused them.

It took him until November to allow the "21" to meet together for "one hour a week" to prepare their trial.

On January 20, 1970, the lawyers tried to have Murtagh kicked off the case. Lawyer Gerry Lefcourt charged that Murtagh was handpicked by District Attorney Hogan to hear all of the Panther cases in New York. When Murtagh was asked to remove himself from the case in November, he said that the Appelate Division assigned him to the case.

A check with the Appelate Division showed that Murtagh was lying. A few more things like this occurred and people began to check out who Murtagh was.

This is what was found in old New York Times and Herald Tribune clippings.

Supreme Court Justice John M. Murtagh has a police record. On May 18, 1951 he was indicted and arrested on charges of "willful neglect of duty" during his term as New York Commissioner of Investigation - from 1945 through 1950 under the infamously scandal ridden administration of former Mayor William O'Dwyer. He was released without paying bail (even though he demanded and got $15,000 a year as a judge). He never formally answered the charge because he had such slick lawyers that he appealed with fancy lawsuits to worm his way out of an "aggressive" prosecution. (Note that he refused to lower the million dollar ransom of the Panthers.)

As a personal and political protege of O'Dwyer, the prosecutor said Murtagh was aware of pay-offs, stand in arrests, collusion among the police department to establish police records, inefficiency among the higher echelons of the cop department and corruption all along the line. His own files were used as evidence against him. Murtagh's files showed that top cops had large bank accounts and that plainclothesmen admitted to owning thousands of dollars in war bonds.

In Brooklyn, the eager beaver prosecutor decided he wasn't going to let Murtagh off. Murtagh was brought before Judge Samuel S. Leibowitz and a Grand Jury. (Leibowitz, by the way was Al Capone's lawyer). Leibowitz asked Murtagh why the cops weren't prosecuted when the District Attorney produced volumes of files from Murtagh's own office, incriminating the cops, including financial questionnaires from over 500 New York cops.

Each time, he was asked Murtagh denied he knew anything about the rampant graft.

"Although the accountants broke down these things, that's where the investigation broke down," the prosecutor said.

Murtagh almost screamed from the witness stand, "Do you realize many of these men might have inherited that money? Many of them worked years for it? My investigation was exhaustive, but I owed them a common decency and courtesy. I would rather be humane than a dogged, unfair prosecutor."

(This is all very strange since he's kept the Panthers jailed for a year without a trial on the assumption that they are "very dangerous people" or like the prosecutor said "They (the Panthers) are not ordinary defendants. They are terrorists.") One can only conclude that the ruling class knows how to take care of its own.

"I made at least ten written reports to the Mayor," Murtagh responded. "I'll tell you, the Pledge matter in Queens, one in the Bronx, another to District Attorney Hogan and one in Westchester."

"The Pledge report!" shouted Judge Leibowitz. "They white washed that one too." That was when Joe Pledge, a bookie, charged a police inspector with taking graft, and they made Pledge the defendant instead."

Then Judge Leibowitz ordered the files seized, "Have these cards stored in a warehouse for use by the Grand Jury. Under no circumstances are they to go outside of the state" he warned.

Murtagh had made a big thing of his files before Senator Kefauver's racket committee. Ma Bell provided him with duplicates of all the toll card slips of the big gangsters in the New York-New Jersey area (as the telephone company often does with communists' and other such incendiaries' phone slips) and Murtagh vaunted the slips before the press and various "investigating committees. But he never did anything about nailing the cops or the gangsters who were stealing from the people.

Leibowitz asked, "Aren't you shocked by these disclosures?"
"Yes Judge."
"Of course, you are."

Murtagh got scared and figured that Leibowitz was going to expose him. Leibowitz, by this time, had threatened Murtagh with a contempt of court citation for lying in court, for lying to the press (he told reporters that he was just "helping the grand jury investigation" but the grand jury issued a statement (which is very unusual) to the effect that Murtagh was not "helping the investigation" but was, in fact, being investigated himself.

Murtagh started a lawsuit (Murtagh vs. Leibowitz) to have the case switched from Leibowitz's jurisdiction in Brooklyn to Manhattan where his friend Frank Hogan was the District Attorney.

Murtagh argued that if he committed a crime, it took place in Manhattan. His evidence? Well of course, he pointed out that everybody KNOWS that City Hall is where his office was located and City Hall was in Manhattan. The Supreme Court and the Appelate Division threw the suit out but the Court of Appeals in Albany reversed the lower courts and ruled that Murtagh would be tried in Manhattan. (It has not been determined if Murtagh had a friend in Albany).

Now Frank Hogan is a very powerful man. He is one of the few District Attorneys in the country who can pick and choose who will try his cases. A perfect example is the Panther case. Hogan wanted Murtagh to try the Panthers and everybody in the courts knew that "Murtagh wants that case." In Manhattan, a case won't go on a judge's calendar until the District Attorney puts it there.

On the final day of a two-year period for criminal action, the Manhattan Grand Jury pointed out that the "key witness" refused to show up for the hearing. The key witness was Mayor O'Dowyer who claimed he could not come because he was engaged in "secret business" as the Ambassador to Mexico. O'Dwyer skipped out of New York just as soon as it became clear that he was about to be pinched for his super-corrupt administration. He stepped down from his ambassadorship a few months later but stayed on as a resident of Mexico and set up a little business until the Statute of Limitations for criminal action against him ran out in the early 1960's.

In the meantime, many members of his administration were investigated, tried and prosecuted for graft and corruption. Many others left their jobs in disgrace, including top echelons in the police and fire department.

Murtagh kept his judgeship after the grand jury "cleared" him. O'Dwyer awarded him the judgeship in 1950, just before he hopped a plane bound for Mexico. The Grand Jury "cleared" Murtagh because they couldn't absolutely pin the rap on him. They wrote: "We must comment at this time upon the mysterious disappearance of numerous documents from the Department of Investigation's files (which Murtagh headed). This is obviously not a case of a few miscellaneous papers having been mislaid through mistake or carelessness. On the contrary, the unexplained absence of all documents reflecting adversely on the Police Department clearly suggests a design to eradicate all critical material from the files." The report said that while "there is no evidence that defendant had anything to do with this puzzling circumstance, the

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MURTAGH AND HOGAN EXPOSED

shocking fact is, however, that not one of these documents, which concerned a most vital phase of the investigation could be located: and that not a single person could be found who could or would supply the slightest clue as to where or how they had vanished."

The Grand Jury report investigating Murtagh continued: "It seems to us that the investigation ordered by Mayor O'Dwyer and conducted by the defendant, was hardly calculated to uproot corruption in the police department. In the first place, the fact that the defendant had been directed to investigate the department was blatantly publicized by the Mayor. The corrupt members of the police department, thus were put on notice of their peril and given an opportunity to cover their tracks."

The Grand Jury continued: "The chances of success" an investigation so instituted might have had certainly been lessened when the defendant failed to pursue leads obtained from the financial inquiries and questionnaires. While there appears to have been considerable endeavor to check the basic statements of the rank and file plainclothesmen, concerning the rank of their asserted assets, no effort was made to ascertain the source of those assets, even where the amounts called for further inquiry."

"Of greater significance is the failure to check the financial Information obtained from the 45 high-ranking officers. The lack of sufficient accounting personnel asserted by the defendant, does not adequately explain his decision to expend months and months of effort in the analysis of the finances of over 300 plainclothesmen, to the exclusion of a less onerous inquiry into the officers of the 45 officers."

The Grand Jury kept right on writing: "Nor is there any persuasiveness in the defendant's contentions that retirements among officers reduced the importance of the investigation, and that he did not, at the time, have a satisfactory questionnaire form available."

The Grand Jury, at this point pointed out that O'Dwyer told Hogan that "highly secret, restricted matters" were occupying his time in Mexico and he couldn't testify about Murtagh and his dealings with him. The Jury wrote: "There is little doubt that the defendant was the Mayor's protege, dependant upon him for political preferment and beholden to him for advancement in public office."

The Jury said that it had to acquit Murtagh because he said he had talked to the Mayor about the corruption in the cop department and this technically was all that the law required but "This suspicion naturally is accentuated where the Commissioner follows a general practice of submitting written reports to the Mayor then departs from it in a particular instance. The defendant, like his predecessors ... ordinarily submitted written reports but failed to follow that practice with regard to the Police Department investigation."

"From the entire pattern of the investigation and the surrounding circumstances we were thoroughly convinced that, in the mind of Mayor O'Dwyer, the uprooting of corruption in the police department was not, in fact, the true purpose of the investigation".

"Remembering that it was O'Dwyer who promulgated this investigation, that he was unquestionably cognizant of its direction and progress throughout and the defendant's confidential relationship with him, there can be no doubt that the defendant was merely carrying out O'Dwyer's purpose." the Grand Jury stated.

"Illustrative of these ineffectual measures was the highly publicized departmental "shake-up" of August, 1947, which transferred police supervisors of questionable caliber from one locality to another. This move, while stimulating decisive executive action served only to provide different geographic spheres of activity for the same suspect personnel."

One year later, Chief Magistrate Murtagh, back on the bench declared that the time had come for the voters of New York to elect a non-political candidate for Mayor. He cited Frank Hogan, who was running for Mayor, as the type of candidate he had in mind. (Remember that Hogan had just finished "prosecuting" Murtagh the year before).

In 1958, when Hogan ran for Congress, a reporter asked him what his relations with Carmine DeSapio were. He answered "Friendly. I admire the manner in which he has provided leadership and I don't know of any other county leader who has made himself available to the same extent to the press, radio, and television. There is nothing of the backroom character about his operation."

Hogan's "friendliness" with

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EAST ST. LOUIS ILLINOIS

SCHOOL BOARD TRAMPLES ON THE RIGHTS OF 22,000 BLACK CHILDREN

UNITED FRONT NEWS RELEASE:

October 1970

The people of East St. Louis, Illinois, are finally beginning to realize the need to implement point 5 of the Black Panther Party, which states that 'We want an education for our people that exposes the true nature of this decadent American society. We want an education that teaches us our true history and our role in the present day society.'

After countless efforts of negotiations, four nigger lackeys and three white fascist pigs on the school board of East St. Louis have totally refused to respect the rights of 22,000 black children to have an education. Schools have been closed for about seven weeks with no end in sight. But this situation only points to the fact that the lying demogogic politicians who control the school system don't care about the black children. The president of the school board is a bootlicking lackey named Charles 'pighead' Merritts, who during the crisis left for a three week tour of Europe on 'doctor's orders'. We say right on, pig-head Merritts, but only extend your trip permanently because the community is hip to your foul act.

Upon analyzing the situation the United Front of East St. Louis, which has adopted the Black Panther Party platform, began to organize Liberation schools throughout the city. Also on October 9th--(schools have been closed since September 1)--300 parents who were concerned about the situation blockaded the school board pigs in the board of education office. After being held in the building for about 12 hours the school board pigs were rescued from the people's tribune when about 60 agents from the Ill. Bureau of Investigation, along with the East St. Louis pig force and reinforced by state troopers, stormed the building and in the process brutalized innocent people, whose only crime is the desire to have their kids in school. The gestapo forces were led by the Director, a bootlicking nigger named Mitchell Ware, along with the R and R boys of East St. Louis, Robert Rice, St. Clair County state's attorney, and Ross Randolph, head of the pig department in East St. Louis. We say right on to the parents of East St. Louis in their just efforts to control the destiny of their children.

PROGRAMS OF SURVIVAL VS THE RULING CLASS



When we talk of survival as human beings within an oppressive social, economical, and political system and super structure, we must by necessity talk of creating programs that will insure our survival, and to go even further lay the foundation for a new alternative to the present racist state machinery now in existence enjoying the cloak of legitimacy.

It has been historically proven, through observation of human society and its development from the earliest recorded eras until the present, that human society moves from a lower level of material life to a higher level, and the main driving force, or determining factor in the development of human society is man's ability to produce the means of survival or those things that will insure his survival in his struggle against nature. It is the material life of society that determines the consciousness of those within it and it is the relations, social relations we enter into in order to survive that create the political and social superstructure that is known as government.

History has amply illustrated that when in the development of human society the social relations, political, religious, cultural or in short ideological (having their basis in ideas) are out of tune and do not conform with the masses material life and their relationship to the means of production, (natural resources and distribution of material goods) then the necessary conditions exist that will resolve this very key contradiction. This is when the people, the labouring masses, are producing an over abundance of material goods, and are unable to enjoy substantially the social fruits of their labour, (highest standard of living possible, housing, free medical care etc.) because they do not control anything. their relation to the means of production has been usurped by a small group of greedy tycoons and super-conartists who claim titles like Rockefeller, Dupont and Morgan etc. It is this contradiction: ownership and control of the collective social product, (money) by a few men: it is precisely this contradiction, that is in opposition to the reality we as human beings and poor and down trodden people are confronted with, for the material life of the masses cannot continue deprived, dealed and exploited while a few enjoy the power derived from the social product of our labour. The profits and fruits of society's sweat cannot go to a few but must be used by and for all.

History has shown us that in order to truly and thoroughly change the peoples relationship to the means of production which is controlled by less that 2 1/2% of the total population, and place control of all of the material resources, in the hands of the masses, it is necessary that the masses of deprived, exploited and oppressed people begin to organize themselves into a force and rest by degrees all the power and wealth from the ruling class, the racists who constitute the bandit clique of the rich and the super-rich and their political puppets. Because these pigs have created the necessary machinery, state and federal and bolstered their ideological foundation with a racists " "Blondes have more fun" clairol culture. The main direction the oppressed peoples struggle must take is that which will not only insure their survival, but also lay a foundation and basis for a new society. Every old society is pregnant with the seeds of the new. It is the old society that must give way to the new, or stagnate and die. Hence it is definitely in the labouring masses best interest to institute thorough survival programs, realizing that those who control the people, and rake in huge profits from the toil and economic hardship of the masses, will not surrender the power and prestige of their class position.

Here in Babylon hoping to co-opt or repress any programs geared toward serving the actual needs of the masses of Black people. They have unleashed their private army of armed pig police upon the progressive and revolutionary forces particularly those programs that are aimed at the establishment of an alternative to their pig exploitive machinery. An alternative to inferior high priced foods, is low priced good food, or free food for children, along side of co-operatively owned food stores, where the people of the community are part and parcel of a community collective that own, support and run cooperative stores, shops, markets etc., this is the basis or beginning in creating a viable alternative to 20th century slavery under which we are the victims destined to remain raw material for the pigs industry and armies.

In order to reach this level we must establish firmly, survival programs by serving the people and working in a manner tha necessarilly involves the community because it relates to their survival in the face of a reactionary racist state machinery that is bent on killing us all. Instead we should organize co-operative stores in the northeren Black communities coupled with farming collectives run by rural and semi-urban oppressed people who, based upon the same principles of co-operation and revolutionary theory, could supply the northern areas with low priced good quality food, to be consumed by those who help produce it. This is a simple, outlined, example. It is examples like this that represent direct threats to fascism, because it is nothing more than the oppressed class organizing itself, and resting control by degrees from the ruling pigs and placing their destinies firmly in their own hands. It follows that in order to have complete freedom, or the highest level of freedom possible under given circumstances. We must engage in the highest form of struggle necessary. For only the highest form of struggle can resolve a contradiction such as whether one survives and lives, as a free man, or die the death of an ordinary electronical 20th century slave.

For those who talk of unity as being primary, a prerequisite to any to any hope of freedom or liberation; you have failed to realize that only through struggle is there unity, hence, the highest form of struggle will produce the maximum revolutionary solidarity and the highest degree of unity examples illustrated in various eras and epochs prove, that force is the midwife of social change and that armed struggle in the final analysis is the highest form of struggle an oppressed people engage in to acquire their end when all others have failed or missed their mark. If peoples war (armed struggle) and revolutionary force is the medium by which social change on a revolutionary level is attained, then the resulting unity can only be the highest degree of unity: Revolutionary unity.

To talk of survival especially as Black people within racist Babylon we must talk of revolution, for only through and by revolution can we survive.

With this in mind it is clear that our programs of survival must deal with these conditions and by necessity our conditions are the primary motive force in the organizing of the masses into a revolutionary force, that can insure our survival and the establishment of a new system based on the objective needs of the people and in tune with man's basic nature, which is self-creative and co-operative. Only within an atmosphere eminating from human and revolutionary principles instead of archaic, repressive and hypocritical laws can people move to a higher social order that can more accurately put to use all of the productive forces at man's disposal for mankind and not for the greedy few pigs who contaminate the earth.

Richard (Dharuba) Moore
N.Y. 21
East Coast Ministry
Black Panther Party

TOWARDS A NEW CONSTITUTION



HUEY P. NEWTON, MINISTER OF DEFENSE, BLACK PANTHER PARTY

A constitutional Convention is extremely important at this time because we must redefine and clarify our actions and our future plans as well as make known to the people and to the world the justification of our struggle against bureaucratic capitalism and American Imperialism.

The civil rights struggle is no more than an extension of the American Revolution of 1776. Everyone should realize this, and with that realization we will come to the conclusion that those things that were gained by the White population of 1776 by separating itself and forming a nation in other words of de-colonizing from England gained them autonomy and also the human rights that they were seeking at that time.

I emphasize that this was 1776 when White people of America gained human rights. This was truly a revolutionary struggle. Unfortunately, Blacks, because of racism in the country and the fact of slavery were not included in these rights. So, after this we had the Civil Rights Movement, in order to gain those rights that Whites gained in 1776. Some two hundred years have passed and we haven't gained those basic rights.

Of course, the country wasn't revolutionized even though there was a revolutionary movement. It was not revolutionized simply because production wasn't at the stage where a socialist development was encouraged by the other forces. In other words, after the separation from England, democratic capitalism came into being. There was much land to be had and farmed. It was basically an agricultural country and very little industry. So people could compete with each other in somewhat of a democratic fashion. A man could have the wealth that he earned through planting the soil. And there was much available soil. Of course, I emphasize again that Blacks were not included in this.

As the years passed and as the country's industry became mature, the agricultural lands became centralized in the hands of a few. This presented new problems, especially when Blacks were not included in the first stage of development the democratic capitalistic era. In our time around 1970, the country is not only fully developed but it is overdeveloped. The economy is over developed, the industry is overdeveloped. The ruling class of the country no longer invests its surplus capital in the country. This brings us to the imperialistic era, where the capitalists is now investing his surplus in the developing countries of the Third World, in order to gain a profit, because there is no room for expansion inside of this mature economy.

While all of this is happening, Blacks are still struggling for basic human rights; the right to vote, the right for economic well-being . We cannot gain our political liberties without the economic freedom. We cannot be integrated into the capitalistic system, because even if we had the wealth or the surplus capital to invest, there would be no market. There is no fertile market in which to invest. Not inside of this country.

I would like to backtrack a little to the period of 1863, 1865, after the Emancipation Proclamation and then the so-called Reconstruction. The Freedman's Bureau was established during the Reconstruction in order to allot one of the chief points argued in Congress by Thadeus Stevens, that Blacks be allotted forty acres and a mule. Because without the land it was realized that there would be no freedom. But this did not occur. I would like to emphasize this to show that America has compromised our freedom again and again. The Hayes Compromise of 1877 devastated the whole Reconstruction period and the few crumbs that we'd gained during that period.

So I refer to a time when we've been forced out of the society, we've been forced out of equal protection of the law, and human respect. And it leaves us with nothing to lose, really and everything to gain, because we've lost everything. And of course when one has lost everything, nothing is open to him but total rebellion. Rebellion against that force and those conditions which have stripped him of his very dignity as a human being.

What are the alternatives? We've concluded that there's no room for us in the capitalistic system because of the overdeveloped nature of the country. We see that as far as autonomy of our community in any respect, as far as self-governing our institutions; this cannot exist under capitalism either because capitalism, the capitalistic system is dictated by the small ruling class, approximately 76 companies that control the whole industry and the whole wealth of this country. That's General Motors, Ford, Chrysler, General Dynamics, Lockheed, Standard Oil, DuPont, Chase Manhattan Bank, Bank of America, and so on down the line.

The only way that we can now get freedom is to change that system that led us into slavery. We were brought into slavery because of profit for the slave driver and the capitalists. So we question the very system. We don't only question the established order, but we question the very system.

We feel that the only way that we can get freedom at this time, after observing and experiencing the conditions of the country is to have a proportional representation in a inter-communalist framework.

This means that the industries that now are held by a small ruling circle should be nationalized, and all ethnic groups will be guaranteed a place in proportion to their number in the country, at the administrative level and at the worker's level. Anything short of this would be compromising our freedom again, and we will not stand for it.

Matter of fact, any compromise would be suicidal. It would be what I call reactionary suicide. To accept a compromise. Reactionary suicide means the conditions, the reactionary condtitions, would be the cause of our suicide. If we stand and do nothing, it would be self-murder. I would rather choose the reverse, if it becomes necessary, and that is a revolutionary suicide. That's suicide motivated by the desire to change the system, or else die trying to change the reactionary conditions. But this is a freedom of choice. And I would choose this for the generation to come and I would choose it for my own integrity, for the simple reason that I refuse, our generation refuses, to live as slaves.

So, we are demanding a Constitution that reflects the ethnic and the pluralistic nature of the society. We demand a Constitution that would guarantee us the right to live. We demand a Constitution that has respect for the people, and a Constitution that serves the people instead of a Constitution that serves the ruling class.

We know that in this country there are certain public institutions, that are supposedly set up by the people, but in reality are set up by the ruling circle, to pretend to serve the people's basic needs. This is the Social Security, Employment Insurance, Welfare Subsidies etc. The ruling class sets up these public agencies to buy off the people with a small example of socialism. But we see that the ruling class even uses the public facilities to their own advantage. The ruling class really uses public funds on a gigantic scale to further its own interests.

An example of this is the big railway barons who receive subsidies. In other words, they receive welfare aid. The big farmers, such as Senator Eastland, receives subsidies from the public institutions in the country, while the people, when they need welfare aid are harassed, hounded, even to the extent that in order to get the aid they must reveal who they sleep with at night, while Eastland and all of the others receive millions of dollars each year, yet they don't have to reveal the last woman or man they slept with, I think that this is a good example of a dictatorship by the people. What I mean by that, is not that the people will abuse what used to be bourgeoisie but it is simply that the peoples needs will be taken under consideration and they will be the prime focus at all times in consideration given. And no one class, no one assortment of people will receive the benefits and the wealth of the country.

Black people in this country, after such a long period of suffering because of capitalism and racism, have a right to exclusively control the institutions of the Black community. All other ethnic groups will also control their community in a co-operative fashion. And the national enterprises what I call national enterprises are those big monopolies will be nationalized so that each ethnic group will have a representative on the various boards. But those other ethnic groups members of ethnic groups, who live in our communities, will be able to participate in a democratic fashion, because racism will be dead. But also we will maintain the right to have this Proportional Representation because the trust has been lost because of racism. Black people have lost faith--faith in this country. And for a safeguard, at least we'll have to have exclusive control over our local communities.

If we can't bring these things about, then of course, we will be accepting reactionary suicide, or suicide caused by the reactionary conditions. I stand against it. If I have a choice, which I do, and if it comes to the point where there's only one choice either to accept reactionary suicide or revolutionary suicide.

I think it goes without saying that Blacks are perfectly justified in declaring a Republic or a Liberated Territory, if we find that we cannot, through some mutual coalition, bring about this type of pluralistic society that is desired. The only other alternative is to declare a Republic, and as I said, face the cowardly imperialistic army, and thereby either defeat them or suffer revolutionary suicide, which is glorious simply because it would be our choice, and we won't stand by and let us be killed one by one. Killed in so many ways, killed spiritually, killed through lack of basic needs medic[illegible], food for [illegible], all these things that are so basic we don't even have to argue whether we're due them.

As revolutionaries, I would like to point out, to clarify our catechism, that we have been completely crushed as members of this so-called civilization. And when I say completely crushed, as revolutionaries, we have not only rejected a seat by the oppressor those seats that he offers are merely crumbs we also reject the ordinary I say ordinary for lack of a better word kind of family arrangements that are offered us, because that too is a compromise. What I'm saying is that we have to compromise even to have a wife and kids and a house and any kind of job or work. It's a compromise for Southern Blacks. It's a compromise for them to just live as every man has a right to live with a family and his loved ones, because the bourgeois state lays down the conditions under which you can have a family. then I would accept this family under conditions that have been prescribed by the capitalists. I would have to accept the conditions of poverty, if I live in the South, I have to accept worms in my kids stomachs, a lack of food, a lack of clothing. If I have to live in the urban areas of Harlem, I have to accept, in order to have a family a compromise and have the kind of family that is bitten by rats, that sleeps in housing that is unfit for human beings.

So as revolutionaries we not only reject these seats by the oppressor, we've also rejected the normal when I say "normal" it's again for lack of a better word we can't accept even the primary relationship of that nucleus family. And we're very angry because we can't accept these things. Because every man is due it. We're very angry, so therefore we're left out in the twilight zone with hatred for those conditions and those people who cause the conditions. Matter of fact, we have such strong feelings until we won't rest and we won't feel that we have done our job until we've lashed out and crushed those people and those conditions that won't allow us to have even the basic things that every man on the face of the earth has a righ to have. That is a home, a family, and kids. To have a family we have to accept kids that are infested with racism, the conditions of racism, from the very moment he becomes conscious. So this is why we're strictly, as the Minister of Information has said, "we're outlaws, we're outside even the law of humanity because we think that we've been dehumanized. But because we've been dehumanized we've become very dangerous people, dangerous to those who won't let us be human.

I would add that it must always be remembered , understood, and realized that our goal is to crush American capitalism and American imperialism. Because without this, we can do nothing.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!
Huey P. Newton
Minister of Defense
Black Panther Party

CARBONDALE, ILLINOIS

PIGS CREATE LIE TO ATTACK THE BLACK COMMUNITY



The people gathered to insure that when the occupants surrendered they would not be murdered by the pigs in Carbondale, Ill.

On November 12, 1970, the Black and oppressed community of Carbondale Ill. was attacked by the pigs. Allegedly the incident erupted when an unidentified man shot at two campus security guards. The suspect (who got away) was supposedly traced to a house in the Northeast section of town, and this same house just somehow happened to contain people who had been working with the Black Panther Party Community Center, which is located one block awy. The pigs claim that as their car approached the house, it was fired upon by the occupants of the house. However, witnesses state that the pigs attacked the house first using machine guns, shotguns, teargas and other powerful hand weapons. An armored tank was called in from nearby Cairo, (a community which has been attacked many times.

The pigs attacked the house around 6 a.m., applying the same raiding tactics used by Chicago pigs when they assassinated Deputy Chairman Fred Hampton and Mark Clark on December 4, 1969. It was evident from the assault pattern that the pigs intended to murder or maim all the occupants in the house. State pigs and County pigs, combined with Carbondale pigs and SIU pigs all participated in the attack. Witnesses say that local racists were also involved even though the attack itself affected not only Black people, but poor white people who live in the area.

The pigs shot holes in people's cars, damaged their homes and property. One brother named Jessie Russell was shot in the shoulder. A sister named Vera Moore, who has ten children and lives next door to the house which was attacked, said that bullets came into her house so fast that she and the children had to lay flat on the floor. The pigs used this attack on the house as a pretext to arrest other brothers in the community who were active in the liberation struggle or worked with the center. Two brothers were found handcuffed and shot in a ditch, and they are both in critical condition.

During the attack and after, the entire community was isolated, no mail was allowed to enter or leave and telephone services were disrupted. It is obvious that the pigs were trying to prevent the correct information from leaving the community.

After a 3 hr. battle the brothers in the house surronded the Community and came forward to insure that the pigs did not murder them. It was reported that previous to the surrender, as soon as the pigs learned that the brothers were coming out, they attempted to disperse the community people, by threatening the people with further



Brothers emerging from building after 3 hours gun battle with Carbondale pigs.

shooting. However, the people in the community were well aware of the pigs intentions, because many months prior they had taken a position stating that they didn't want the pigs coming into their community on 'Panther witch hunts' shooting and raiding suspected Panther houses such as they did in Chicago on December 4, 1969.

The attack in Carbondale should serve to educate a lot of people on the true nature of the situation Black and oppressed people face in Babylon. People must understand that everything that happens to oppressed people in this society is interconnected. When an incident occurred on the campus of S.I.U. it was taken by the pigs to the oppressed community of Carbondale, when an incident takes place in Southern Ill it can take place in Chicago, or Boston, Baltimore, New Orleans, Detroit. When the people move to protect themselves from the day to day oppression and attacks by the pigs, the peoples servants, those who educate and organize the people, are the first to be attacked. If we can understand this, then we can see the National assault pattern of the pigs, and we can see why the Black Panther Party which is the Vanguard force in the peoples struggle for liberation, has had over 30 servants of the people killed, and hundreds imprisoned.

The attack in Carbondale shows us the urgency of the Revolutionary Peoples Constitutional Convention, and it clearly points out that a state of war exists between the oppressed and the oppressor. We say that war is the highest form of resolving contradiction, and the contradiction between oppressed and oppressor, slave and master, has reached a state where the master is openly attacking the slave camp, openly preventing us from freedom and liberation, therefore we must openly declare him the enemy and create a constitution to base our struggle for liberation on.

The brothers in Carbondale have been arrested on several charges ranging from attempted murder to disorderly conduct, bonds range from $1000 to Don Jackson at $100,00 The Revolutionary fervor is high in Carbondale. The 3 hour battle served to educate and revolutionize the masses. Let that fervor become an intergral part in the Revolutionary fervor across the world, which will help to free us all from oppression.

All Power to the People.

Monk Teba

PRESS RELEASE

We, the People's Action Committee, of Frederick, Maryland, write this letter so that you will be aware of how the city and county governments are violating the human rights and dignity of Black people in this community.

We are in hopes that someone will investigate our charges against the local government so that our community can at least stop living in constant fear of the police state in which we are living now.

The discrepancies we speak of involve, among other things, constant harassment of the community by police officials, improper arrest procedures, on the most irregular, if not illegal charges, and excessive bond being placed on members of the Black community. The most recent examples of these charges are the following.

Recently in this county a narcotics raid was conducted which resulted in the arrest of 23 people on narcotics charges. 14 Black people were arrested and 8 Whites. Six of these eight Whites had bonds below $2,000. of the two other Whites arrested, one had a bond of $5,000 and one for $15,000. These people were arrested before our committee made public a statement questioning the fact that bonds were so low for White people and so high for Black. All Whites with low bonds have been released, most of them on their personal recognizance.

Of the 14 Blacks arrested, 2 have been released on bond. For some strange reason, these 2 Black people were released on low bond with the same charges as the other Black people have on them. This was after our public statement on the matter. However, there are still 12 Black people incarcerated under bonds ranging from $5,000 to $45,000 on such charges as being a public nuisance keeping a public nuisance, attempting to distribute cocaine, or possession of controlled paraphernalia.

On the 1st raid policemen entered the house without a search warrant. They searched the bedroom without a search warrant. At that house a young Black man was arrested. He was charged with attempt to sell attempting to distribute cocaine in which there was never any cocaine or any other drug involved.

On the 2nd raid a home was illegally entered; the policeman forced the door open. This home was also searched without a search warrant. The children were unnecessarily frightened by policemen ransacking the home. A young man and a young woman (pregnant) were arrested. They were charged with distribution of heroin, conspiracy to distribute heroin, and possession of controlled paraphernalia and keeping a common nuisance. Combined together the bond was $50,000. The young woman has been released.

On the 3rd raid the home was entered the same way as the 2nd but then forced the door in the man's face. He was taken off to jail. Bond was set at $45,000. He was also thrown against the wall and his arm twisted by the policeman asking for information.

On the 4th raid the house was centered the same as the 2nd and 3rd. A young woman was taken off to jail. Her bond was set at $22,000.

This involved all Blacks and of all Whites that were arrested not one of their doors were forced in. "1 White youth", a policeman's son, this is his 4th arrest. On the first charge marijuana was found in a flower pot growing in his home. On the 2nd it was marijuana and the 3rd arrest he was seized with $8,000 worth of marijuana. Bond was set at $2,000. On the 4th arrest he was charged with possession of marijuana, bond set at $1,000.

In the recent raid, some of the search warrants were in direct violation of the 4th and 5th Amendments of the U.S. Constitution.

Defendants were denied their right to see a counsel. They are also denied the right to any visitors. One youth is in solitary. Of all Blacks that are in jail, the courts are giving them a secret speedy trial so they can railroad them.

This past winter 3 White secretaries were arrested and charged with possession of $50,000 worth of narcotics. They were released on $250 bond, and eventually their cases were thrown out of court. On Nov. 4, a Black man was arrested for assault because he was alleged to have told a narcotics agent on the 14th of Oct. to stop harassing him, for he knew he was an undercover agent, so just stay away from him. This man was arrested Nov. 4, held incommunicado under $1,000 bond, tried on Nov.6 without legal counsel, and found guilty. This list could go on and on, like the incident a few months ago where a Black woman who just happened to be walking down the street, was shot in the arm by 3 White men who just didn't have anything else to do. Then the police apprehended these assailants 5 blocks away and told them it would be best if they would leave town and not to come back for a while.

We feel there was a strong element of racism involved in the arrest procedure, attitudes toward Black arrestees, and amount of bond levied.

We feel these discrepancies should warrant an investigation.

Signed by We the People Action Committee:
Signed by the Chairman-----
Bobby H. Lee
Vice Chairman Phillip E. Holsey



IN FEAR OF VOSTER'S THUGS



JOHN VORSTER — saviour of civilisation or police state boss? It depends on your colour, says a white South African who left his country because of his hatred of apartheid



Black South Africans form a queue outside a furniture store . . . There is a disturbance . . . And police lash out, setting the dog leaping and snarling . . . It's typical police work, say Vorster's opponents

These pictures were taken in a Johannesburg street. The Africans were queueing outside a furniture store. A slight disturbance broke out. Instantly, white South African police attacked with dogs.

The cameraman had courage. Photography is a dangerous hobby in modern South Africa. When Johan Smit took an innocuous snapshot of a non-European restaurant, secret police noted down his name and the number of his car.

Smit is a 40-year-old Doctor: Dutch ancestry, English-born, a South African resident since he was 13. Now he lives in London with his wife and small son. They've quit South Africa for ever, sickened by the brutality of apartheid.

But fear remains. Johan Smit is not his real name. He's afraid that if he were identified his relations in South Africa would suffer for his outspoken criticism of the Vorster regime.

"It's a nightmare place" he says. "South Africa is the worst police state in the world. Only Nazi Germany was worse.

"I've always had misgivings about apartheid. Under Verwoerd there was a least some attempt at justification: a political philosophy that the races should be kept apart to develop their own cultures. Under Vorster it's lost all semblance of anything but gratuitous brutality.

"You see it in the streets every day. My nine-year-old son watched an African youth beaten bloody by two Afrikaans policemen. It's reflex with them.

"You go to your office and find that one of the messenger boys isn't there. He's been pulled in for not carrying a pass . . . the police have hired him out to a farmer on the fringe of town. He's kept in a compound under guard, half-starved, working without pay. Technically it's illegal. It happens all the time.

"The government – and the vast majority of people – believe in the instrinsic inferiority of the African. They want to see him put down. Whole families die of malnutrition. Nobody could care less.

"If you shoot an African in the street, the police tell you to drag the corpse into your garden. You won't be arrested. You've found him burgling your home . . . shot him in defence of your property and life.

"I know of an Afrikaans farmer who beat a native to death. The man was disobedient. The farmer put him in a gunny sack, tied him to a tree and whipped him until he died. That was one case that got into the newspapers. Nobody was particularly shocked . . .

"In Johannesburg I saw a native girl being beaten by a group of Africans. Three policemen were standing nearby. They just shrugged their shoulders. They were completely indifferent.

"So I drove to the police station. There was a white woman in the waiting room. When I told her what was happening she just said: 'So what? One kaffir less'

"She'd come to inform on a white man for sleeping with a black girl!"

The Immorality Act forbids sex relations between the races. Smit shows you a pile of South African newspapers, all gloating over tragedy. The young couple whose marriage was forcibly annulled, when the wife was found to have Coloured blood. The small girl expelled from school for the same reason. A picture strip shows a white man and two small black children. Headline: The sex-buster . . . and two kids for forbidden love. Caption: Ace Immorality Act cop Sergeant Piet Ras and the two Coloured children of so-and-so . . . both parents were jailed.

"To sleep with a native girl is like sleeping with an animal", says Smit. "That's how the Boer thinks of the African. It's a criminal offence. And there are plenty of informers. Men have been known to blow their brains out rather than face charges under the Immorality Act.

"At the weekends you get gangs of drunks going through the border into Swaziland, where they can get sex without getting arrested.

"The newspapers are crammed with propaganda. The Rand Daily Mail is one of the few free-speaking papers in the country, and it has to fight like hell to stay that way. Television is banned. It's said to be a corrupting influence. They're afraid of broadening the consciousness of the people.

"The South Africans think England is degenerate. That it's betrayed the white man. They see themselves as the true saviours of white civilisation. The last bastion of Christian virtues. They find excuses for apartheid in the Bible.

"The chairman of the South African Broadcasting Corporation has a son named Izan. It sounds like a nice Old Testament name. Until you spell it backwards.

"Many Boers wanted the Nazis to win the war. Hitler's racialist policy agreed with their own. They used to beat up their own soldiers who'd enlisted to fight Germany. Today the police wear blue-grey uniforms like the Wehrmacht. There's a Superman complex. Johannesburg is full of weight-lifting clubs, ju-jitsu clubs.

"As a matter of fact Johannesburg is grotesque. The last bastion of civilisation? Certainly, if you equate civilisation with juke-boxes and drive-in cinemas and an astronomical divorce rate. Everything's a pale copy of America. Civilisation . . . if you don't notice the police beating up old native women and the black children trying to sell flowers when they should be at home in bed.

"The whole country is mentally under siege. They're terrified that the guerillas may come down from the north. It's almost impossible for an able-bodied man to leave the country between the ages of 18 and 28. He has to be ready to fight in the Defence Force. They're marching against the flood of history. They can only hope to keep the Africans down by strengthening the police force.

"It's a police state. But that doesn't mean that the police will go into action if you have a burglary. They're absolutely inefficient as far as normal police duties are concerned. But they'll always be there to see the blacks have their passes, that they don't go in the subways reserved for Whites.

"South African whites are completely brainwashed. They can't talk about anything except rugby and servant trouble. That's why sport is so important to them. They

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IN FEAR OF VOSTER'S THUGS

haven't got anything else. The anti-Springbok demonstrations hurt them very much. It's a pity Britain has to suffer. But thank God somebody is making an effective protest. I've left for good now. My only regret is that I didn't leave sooner. There's a new brand of refugee today. People like me, who have grown to detest the way of life in South Africa.

"We don't pretend that all black men are saints. But they're human beings. The way they're treated is inhuman. They're harassed and hounded all day and all night.

"The white man is dragged down too. He's besmirched by association with this regime.

"To live in South Africa today is to be degraded."

OFF THE CUFF

Marcelino Dos Santos talks to Sechaba



Marcelino Dos Santos

The international community can contribute to the success of the struggle for national liberation of the Portuguese colonies at two essential levels, said MARCELINO DOS SANTOS, Vice-President of FRELIMO in an Exclusive Interview with SECHABA:

1. Direct help to the national liberation movements;
2. Propaganda and moral support for the struggle

Comrade Dos Santos spoke to SECHABA in Rome while attending the recent international conference in support of the liberation fighters of the Portuguese colonies.

He said: "Since we are engaged in an armed struggle we require armaments, uniforms, and so on, but then there is also the work in the liberated areas which involves education, health and production.

Of course everybody cannot give arms but there are those who can. We have real needs in this sector, therefore material assistance must cover military aid. There are the Socialist countries who can do this and they do it. With uniforms its the same. On the level of National Reconstruction we have programmes for education, for health and production. For example in the programme of education in our country, we have to develop primary education, create new schools, produce new books for the pupils, increase the stocks of books, organise training courses for new teachers, improve the level of existing teachers, and expand literacy classes for adults. We also have other sectors of higher education for "cadres", mechanics and other technicians for which we do not have sufficient material means at present, particularly for nurses, electricians, etc.

CADRES

The formation of "cadres" is a difficult problem since we depend on certain material resources which are not always easily obtainable. There are two solutions: either we organise it ourselves with financial assistance or we send the trainees to other countries. The guerillas have undergone such courses in the countries where they trained. What we now want is to do these programmes ourselves in accordance with our needs. We therefore need external aid and we don't know to what extent non-governmental organisations can help. We have found that political organisations and committees of support have great difficulties in finding material resources to help in such programmes, but it is not impossible. It means hard work and the mobilisation of individuals and organisations which are not in direct contact with us. We have already certain religious organisations from which we receive substantial assistance. In our health programme we have a real need to greatly improve our hospitals which are in the bush. Conditions are very poor and there is a great shortage of medicines.

Then we have programmes for the increase of production because we want to produce as much as we can for ourselves by our own labour. We also want to improve the quality of this production, by improving the techniques used and by diversification.

We have a special section dealing with these aspects, but it is not yet of a very high standard. We have a section of production and commerce and we hope to develop it into a Department precisely to increase production. We badly need agricultural equipment. We do not produce this equipment and yet this is the very basis of agricultural work."

SECHABA asked Comrade Dos Santos several questions and his answers revealed in vivid description

HOW FRELIMO LAUNCHED THE ARMED STRUGGLE

Sechaba. We would like to turn to the struggle itself, particularly to the beginning of the armed struggle in Mozambique. Can you tell me how FRELIMO set about the task of launching the armed struggle? Did you begin with political work; did you send cadres in to prepare the ground before you started the guerilla action? What was your "modus operandi"?

Dos Santos. When FRELIMO was created we were almost completely convinced that only an armed struggle would allow us to fulfill our aspirations. We did not make a great discovery, in reaching this conclusion, as Angola had already started, and Guine as well. It was therefore not difficult to see that the Portuguese Government would not reserve some special treatment for the people of Mozambique. Nevertheless we were trying to create the minimum conditions for embarking on this armed struggle. At our congress in September 1962 we had no idea when we would start. But we set ourselves a number of tasks; first, to consolidate the organisation inside the country, the political organisation.

Were the people in the north of Mocambique well politicised before this stage? Had they participated in any kind of political movement before you started laying the basis for the armed struggle?

There were small groups which had been formed after the last war, to be more exact from 1948–49. They were spread quite widely, particularly in the towns, all clandestine and unknown to each other.

IN THE COUNTRYSIDE

But in the countryside?

First they grew in the towns but certain other movements, such as the cooperative cattle movement, were formed in the countryside. They were not at first a political movement but the nature of Portuguese Colonialism forced them into political commitment. There were conflicts with the Administration and the disputes become political. But it was the little groups I first mentioned which had clear political objectives. From 1955 some of these groups learnt about each other and linked up. In this way the political work progressed. There were also organisations such as the Mozambique African National Union which organised in the North at Cabo Delgado, or the Democratic union of Mozambique, formed, around 1960 which organised in the provinces of the centre and the South. But it is in the Northern district that important work was done. All these groups were inherited by FRELIMO, as most of the comrades who worked in these groups in Mozambique left for Tanzania after independence and arrived there after November 1961. These comrades had contacts with the external organisations who managed to organise the meeting of 25th June 1962 and then the Congress of September 1962.

FRELIMO proceeded to consolidate them into a network inside Mozambique whilst defining the tasks of the new organisation.

From the very beginning the task of the organisation was to transform the consciousness of the people, to bring them to accept the idea of National Independence, to have a clearer idea of the meaning of this and also convince the people that only an armed struggle would make it possible to reach this goal.

MILITARY CADRES

While carrying out this mobilisation for armed struggle and structural activity we were also organising the training of military cadres.

As early as 3rd or 4th January 1962, that is only three months after the Congress, the first group of 80 comrades left for Algeria to learn the art of guerilla warfare. Later we sent other groups to Algeria where about 250–300 guerillas were trained. When we had the minimum military organisation to launch the armed struggle we turned our attention again to the problem of the political structure which would support a minimum military network.

The problem was to establish what was a minimum military organisation – how many comrades? Further, it was not possible to determine the level of political consciousness necessary to support armed struggle. We also realised that it was not possible to develop a strong political organisation under a fascist system. You may have a clandestine political network but at a certain level it becomes vulnerable to enemy action. We therefore created the minimum network to give assistance to the fighters, by supplying food, organising hiding places and to give information to the guerillas. We then felt that it was through the armed struggle that the political organisation would grow.

So at first there was only the political network, then, when our comrades had trained in Algeria we had a military organisation which was received everywhere by the political wing. We then started our action in Cabo Delgado, Nyasso, Zambesi and Tete. But we were forced to stop the action in Tete and Zambesi in July 1965 because of insufficient supplies.

I must say that the political work was essential, the armed struggle being only an instrument, a tool. But it is now the principal action for independence. Others have had to mobilise the masses as their principal action towards independence, but for us it has been the armed struggle, whilst political work has not been neglected and is a determining factor.

NEW CONDITIONS

What was the effect of the armed struggle on the political work? Was there higher morale?

The start of an armed struggle created new conditions for a new development of the political organisation. Under a fascist colonial system there are many militants who are not sure of the other militants. They are not sure who is with or against them. Because conditions are so difficult, people don't trust each other. When the armed struggle starts, two camps are established; the one who shoots at the Portuguese can surely not be on the wrong side. We then have a sure test. Whilst at the stage of political organisation, people are never sure even when somebody makes the right political statements, but when he fires on Portuguese troops and kills them you know who to trust. Secondly this military action creates the conditions for cleaning up and detecting the enemy elements and to destroy them, thereby creating new conditions for more efficient action by the organisation. This is how the armed struggle contributed to the political network.

DOS SANTOS THEN DISCUSSED POLITICAL-MILITARY ORGANISATION IN MOZAMBIQUE

When you made the recent attacks in Tete did you prepare the ground with political work there too or was it a question of the "focus" opening the way?

In our work at the beginning of 1962, we started with the organisation of the political network. At that time there was no military organisation, so it was purely political work. Then when the comrades returned from training we had two sectors: the sector of political work and the one for military work. We tried to establish a coordination between the two but this was not always easy. Its not easy to say exactly why and to establish the link between all the factors. The people who made up the political network inside did not always have the highest political understanding. These were the people who had established little groups even before the formation of FRELIMO.

These organisers gained the respect of the people but they did not have any military training whilst those who had undergone guerilla training had also acquired political knowledge, and we were to find later that the latter were the best militants of FRELIMO, the true interpreters of FRELIMO policy, when the armed struggle was launched. When the comrades of the military sector arrived they were placed under the authority of the political organisation which gave the orders. But new problems arose with the armed struggle and the political organisation could not solve them. At the same time the population were saying that it was the military wing which was killing the Portuguese, not the political wing and this gave immediate prestige to the military wing.

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IN FEAR OF VOSTER'S THUG'S

When the Portuguese withdrew from certain areas which became liberated zones the people started to say that before the military wing arrived there was only talk of independence etc. so the prestige of the army grew. In the political network we had Group "Chairmen" at the District level who had previously done useful work educating the people but when the army units grew a certain rivalry started. The Chairmen, because of their lower political understanding, thought that the armed struggle would be short, leading to independence.

They believed that in the independant Mozambique under FRELIMO they would be the leaders of the new administration. Many of them began to behave as traditional chiefs. We must admit that the blame for this situation must be borne by the leadership of FRELIMO for failing to foresee such a situation. It was not the fault of the people but of the FRELIMO Command. We did not foresee these revolutionary problems and conflicts developing.

PROBLEMS AND SOLUTIONS

Once these conflicts come into the open we had to analyse the situation and impose certain solutions. This we did. But certain of the comrades had wrong conceptions about the Chairmen, in spite of their inability to govern the liberated areas. The population was always asking for solutions to problems such as how they were to obtain clothing etc after the departure of the Portuguese.

At this stage did the peasants feel that they were gaining from their new freedom?

Well, there was no more tax to pay, but where to get clothes, where to get soap? In 1965 we had not yet made provision for this. But the fighters had a good understanding of the situation and this was natural because they were forced to have this full comprehension of the problems. They understood that in the fight against the Portuguese they had to kill the soldiers or they would be killed; they were also forced to discuss and understand what relation they should have with the people.

But the population themselves; there must have been some conflict in their minds between the material conditions under the Portuguese and the new situation, and they had to choose?

They chose the bad conditions.

Why? What factors helped them to choose?

Just one at the beginning – freedom. They said we have nothing but we are free. But to be realistic this stage could not last long. There had to be something else. We had to satisfy their needs. But where to obtain clothes? And other materials? We knew that whatever our efforts we would not be able to supply all their requirements in this field. Therefore we were forced to give them something else – a political awareness. We had to develop political mobilisation. It was simply impossible to satisfy all the material needs. We had to explain this and show that we were creating conditions for improving the situation very quickly.

Were the conditions very bad at this point?

Yes, we had many cases where people went back to using bark to clothe themselves. But we explained to the people that it was a new situation for everybody and that we were trying to find solutions.

What about the urban groups during this period? Was there also struggle in the urban areas or not?

In the towns we only increased the pressure of the clandestine movements but did not take any military action.

HE PRESERVATION OF LEADERSHIP

To turn to another question, what is your policy on the question of preservation of leadership? Clearly a movement has to preserve its experienced cadres, this is an objective requirement, but at the same time there is a necessity to involve the leadership. What is your policy on this question?

Earlier we were talking of the political problems and we said that at the beginning we had two sectors and that we had many problems. We had to solve these problems by putting into practise our ideas of a guerilla movement: namely that everyone is a political cadre and yet everyone is also a fighter. But one must determine the tasks for each sector – for example what are the tasks of the guerilla? First to fight then mobilise the population, then to produce. What is the task of a peasant? First to produce, then fight in self-defence, and defence of the region where he is. For the teacher, his first task is to teach, then mobilise, then produce. The medical orderly, what is his task? First to treat patients, then produce, then fight. Everybody has a common task which is production. At every school there is a field for production, also in every base, in every hospital. It was established that this was necessary. But conditions differ greatly. When we wanted to re-start the fighting in Tete recently, we sent comrades who already had a politico-military formation. But there were islands of mobilised people in certain areas where the terrain was not favourable to an armed struggle. On the other hand where people had not been mobilised the terrain was favourable to guerilla action. With the help of the politico-military cadres we were able to detect the most favourable points for military action in the Tete province and carry out a simultaneous mobilisation of the population in these areas. In this way we were able to correct the deficiencies which had existed in Cabo Delgado and Nyassa and impose the practical solution of the politico-military cadre.

We realised that there our tasks were really new. We observed that the problems were quite unpredictable, and we learnt that one must be attentive to all the phenomena and problems as they arise. This means that there must be comrades who are able to detect the problems quickly by observing and understanding the situation. This can only be done by responsible leaders being in the area. This is absolutely necessary. If we can then accept the idea of politico-military cadres and the need for the presence of responsible leaders, we can then talk of the preservation of the leaders. The requisite vigilance which must be assured but in the battle area, this is where it must be done. Every leader of FRELIMO has a security curtain around him, but I had to make this explanation to answer very clearly your question because it is often argued that the security of a leader places him outside the battle area. This is not the case, his security must be assured in this area.



Frelimo Women militants

Did you have any requests from the people in the South to introduce guerillas to fight for their defence?

Yes, we had our organisation in the South, clandestine and political, and the comrades trained in Algeria went to the South in 1964.

guese Government cannot ensure the defence of Mozambique, South Africa will do it. They say it openly. South Africa is at present an Imperialist nation in Southern Africa and unless she changes her present policies it is SA which will be the great enemy of everybody. Portugal will be the secondary enemy. We are now fighting the Portuguese but it is South Africa which directs the strategy and determines the policy. But we are convinced that if our fight develops in Mozambique, if it continues to develop in Angola, if the South African people develop their liberation struggle with the Zimbabwe people it will be South African forces which we will have to engage in the war. It is difficult to see an Independent Mozambique or Angola whilst there is a facist South Africa and Khodesia, unless there is a change in the orientation of imperialism.

So you see your struggle as a protracted war, with a steady increase in territorial power in Mozambique, but at the same time a situation of constant struggle until the whole of Southern Africa is free?

I agree with this perspective. And this points to certain responsibilities which we must shoulder to create greater cooperation. We must learn to coordinate our action to face the enemy and assume our historic responsibilities.

sealing off at the Tanzanian Border? In that event would you be able to carry on your struggle in Mozambique?

I am convinced that armed struggle cannot exist without supplies, but what are the possibilities of ensuring supplies?
Without any doubt Tanzania and Zambia plcy an important role but at the present stage of our struggle I think that even if the border with Tanzania was closed, we would not stop our fight. Why? because the resources of our struggle are now very large. Our ability to create at this stage are very good.
It is possible to break through any such barrier and I must say that we would be able to stop the creation of a barrier. Furthermore there are other ways of assuring supplies.

Do you use the coast at all? Are you able to penetrate to the coastline? I understand that some coastline forts have been attacked by FRELIMO forces, have you been able to get to the sea and have you been able to establish some permanent presence on the coastline?

We have already some presence on the coastline.

S. A. INVOLVEMENT IN MOZAMBIQUE

What reports do you get from inside on the SA economic and military presence in Mozambique?

The information which we have is that South Africa is trying to consolidate her position in Mozambique by investing in companies and also by direct military intervention. For example there are SA battalions at Fingue and Chiane.

Frelimo guerillas



PROBLEM OF SUPPLIES

In view of South Africa's aggressive military strategy and the proposed base at Lilongwe in Malawi and others in Zimbabwe have you considered the possibility of a military

three batalions of 600 each, in the province of Nyassa there were 25 SA planes two years ago. Then there are the personnel and technicians of SA in the hospitals of Bede and Nampole. Tete has doctors and nurses in large numbers and certain means of transport purely SA. They have their own security personnel and their own camps for their soldiers and police.
I think that the South African's policy is that if the Portu-

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MURTAGH AND HOGAN EXPOSED

DeSapio, the leader of Tammany, had been "very pleasant." He said he received suggestions for appointments to his staff from DeSapio and had accepted some of them.

On Frebruary 19, 1951, the NAACP, sent Hogan a protest letter charging him with "mishandling" the presentation of a case to the Grand Jury involving the fatal shooting of a Black man by two cops. Hogan announced that the grand jury found the two cops "not guilty" of a crime when, while on duty, on December 7, they killed John Derrick, a Black man who was honorably discharged from the army 12 hours before.

Police reported that Derrick drew a pistol when he was accosted by three cops for "acting suspiciously." The NAACP said there were eyewitnesses to the shooting who said Derrick did not have a pistol and had, in fact, raised his hands when the cops approached him.

Aside from his history as a racist, Hogan is a well-known and respected anti-communists in ruling class circles. He says, for example "I am opposed to the recognition of Communist China and I am opposed to its admission to the United Nations. I don't need any lesson from anyone with respect to the complete untrustworthyness of the Communist leaders in China or anywhere else". He thinks that "foreign policy, to be effective, must be backed up by the greatest military strength in the world."

Hogan was awarded the annual Americanism award of the Colonel Francis Vigo Post American Legion "for his services to the city, state and county." While he was supposed to be investigating Murtagh, he took a month-long jaunt to Europe saying that he "sincerely hopes" his office would not ask him to look into matters while he was away. He is also proud of his seat on the Trustees of Columbia University.

When he ran for Senator, he took a tour through Chinatown and promised to work, if elected, for a "free and democratic China and the elimination of the present Red dominated gangster government." He said the U.S. should meet Communist aggression and expansion where it arose. "There can be no compromise with communism."

The New York Times said of him on April 19, 1967: "His staff of 350 is strictly forbidden to release the criminal record of a suspect or to intimate that a confession has been obtained. As one staff member puts it: "He thinks the public has a right to know who has been arrested and why-very little more."

On June 14, 1969 Panther lawyers demanded that Hogan be arrested for releasing the names of 2 indicted Panther suspectes before they were arrested. Murtagh, of course, ignored the demand. Last April 3rd, Hogan went on television to announce the "bomb conspiracy" indictment and arrests of the Panthers to insure that they would get the kind of trial he thought they should get in New York. The television presentation of the indictment was unprecedented in his history as District Attorney and was made before the Panther lawyers had chance to see the indictment.

FROM REVOLUTIONARY BROTHERS IN JAIL

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

This letter is in the form of an appeal to you for your support. We are inmates of the New York City Prisons. As you know, there was a series of prison rebellions during the first days of October of this year. Due to the pigs' propaganda (which lied about the details) most people do not know what the rebellion was all about. We demanded the dignity and justice that is ours and which has been and is being denied us. Our battle must and will continue to grow stronger throughout all of the prisons - caged or uncaged - until we can walk in dignity and look upon our humaness with prised. Strength only respects strength and we are dealing with one of the two most powerful military complexes in the world: so we must stand tall.

At Branch Queens we witnessed the power of the people, and even now our bodies are wrapped in the magic aegis (shield) of your love - for without the peoples' protection death was imminent for the forty-one. You see, once we were barricaded in the annex of Branch Queens, Lindsay, Hogan, and McGrath ordered us to be killed. Actually ordered it. When we came down on the "Cherry picker" five correction pigs ripped off their badges on the spot and attacked one of Lindsay's aides, because they felt that they had been cheated - that Lindsay had reneged on his promise to let them have the prize catch of killing us - in fact they are still waiting for a chance to kill us, and we are reminded of it daily.

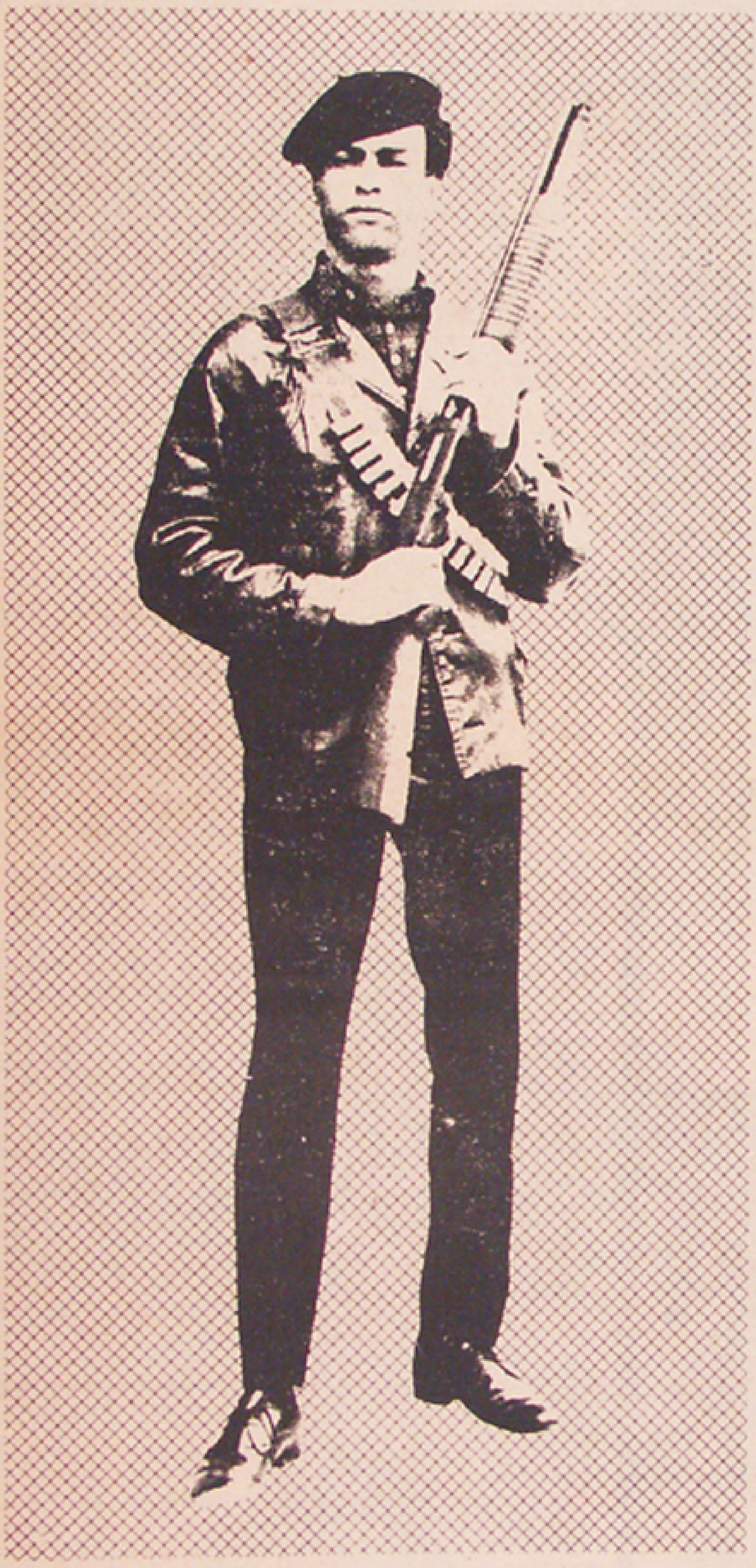
Since the pigs' blood-lust had not been satisfied on October 6, they have now returned to their old play of judicial genocide or legal lynching. Four brothers from Branch Queens and twenty-four from Brooklyn have now been indicted on trumped up charges of kidnap, inciting to riot, rioting, and numerous other false charges. This action is meant to serve a threefold purpose: (1) To temporarily soothe the racist mad-dog correction tactical force gestapo pigs who were left standing stupidly oinking obscenities and threats as we were transferred to another prison (2) To put fear into the hearts of Black, Brown, Red, and Yellow political prisoners, approximately 10 brothers have been beaten to death and many have been hospitalized. The whole of N.Y. City Prisons are still on reprisal conditions - with all day lock-ins, beatings, and no mail. The ratio of inmates is still 90% Black and Puerto Rican. The bails are still exorbitant, and the judges, D.A.'s and legal aides are still on the same team. The only things that have changed are the reprisals, the deaths, the hospitalizations the indictments and the beatings, in an attempt to prevent future rebellions and siezures in the concentrations camps of America. (3) It is a political move to cover up and under play the savagery and beastiality displayed by New York's pigs.

Therefore we would appeal to you, the people, to come to our aid. We need the support of the people in combating these illegal indictments and we urgently need money for bail. For information contact William Crain - 640 Broadway, N.Y.C tel. 677-1552.

REVOLUTIONARY BROTHERS IN JAIL

October 1966
Black Panther Party
Platform and Program

What We Want
What We Believe



Huey P. Newton Minister of Defense
Black Panther Party

1. We want freedom. We want power to determine the destiny of our Black Community.

We believe that black people will not be free until we are able to determine our destiny.

2. We want full employment for our people.

We believe that the federal government is responsible and obligated to give every man employment or a guaranteed income. We believe that if the white American businessmen will not give full employment, then the means of production should be taken from the businessmen and placed in the community so that the people of the community can organize and employ all of its people and give a high standard of living.

3. We want an end to the robbery by the CAPITALIST of our Black Community.

We believe that this racist government has robbed us and now we are demanding the overdue debt of forty acres and two mules. Forty acres and two mules was promised 100 years ago as restitution for slave labor and mass murder of black people. We will accept the payment in currency which will be distributed to our many communities. The Germans are now aiding the Jews in Israel for the genocide of the Jewish people. The Germans murdered six million Jews. The American racist has taken part in the slaughter of over fifty million black people; therefore, we feel that this is a modest demand that we make.

4. We want decent housing, fit for shelter of human beings.

We believe that if the white landlords will not give decent housing to our black community, then the housing and the land should be made into cooperatives so that our community, with government aid, can build and make decent housing for its people.

5. We want education for our people that exposes the true nature of this decadent American society. We want education that teaches us our true history and our role in the present-day society.

We believe in an educational system that will give to our people a knowledge of self. If a man does not have knowledge of himself and his position in society and the world, then he has little chance to relate to anything else.

6. We want all black men to be exempt from military service.

We believe that Black people should not be forced to fight in the military service to defend a racist government that does not protect us. We will not fight and kill other people of color in the world who, like black people, are being victimized by the white racist government of America. We will protect ourselves from the force and violence of the racist police and the racist military, by whatever means necessary.

7. We want an immediate end to POLICE BRUTALITY and MURDER of black people.

We believe we can end police brutality in our black community by organizing black self-defense groups that are dedicated to defending our black community from racist police oppression and brutality. The Second Amendment to the Constitution of the United States gives a right to bear arms. We therefore believe that all black people should arm themselves for self-defense.

8. We want freedom for all black men held in federal, state, county and city prisons and jails.

We believe that all black people should be released from the many jails and prisons because they have not received a fair and impartial trial.

9. We want all black people when brought to trial to be tried in court by a jury of their peer group or people from their black communities, as defined by the Constitution of the United States.

We believe that the courts should follow the United States Constitution so that black people will receive fair trials. The 14th Amendment of the U.S. Constitution gives a man a right to be tried by his peer group. A peer is a person from a similar economic, social, religious, geographical, environmental, historical and racial background. To do this the court will be forced to select a jury from the black community from which the black defendant came. We have been, and are being tried by all-white juries that have no understanding of the "average reasoning man" of the black community.

10. We want land, bread, housing, education, clothing, justice and peace. And as our major political objective, a United Nations-supervised plebiscite to be held throughout the black colony in which only black colonial subjects will be allowed to participate, for the purpose of determining the will of black people as to their national destiny.

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. **That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness.** Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. **But, when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security.**





Huey would say, "a newspaper is the voice of a party, the voice of the Panther must be heard throughout the land."

We found we as citizens of this country were being kept duped by the government and kept misinformed by the mass media.

The Black Panther Party Black Community News Service was created to present factual, reliable information to the people.

The Black Panther Party Black Community News Service is the alternative to the 'government approved' stories presented in the mass media and the product of an effort to present the facts, not stories as dictated by the oppressor, but as seen from the other end of a gun.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

SEIZE THE TIME!



July 1967--Minister of Defense, Huey P. Newton (right) and Chairman, Bobby Seale (left), reading an early edition of B.P.P. Newspaper at the home of Eldridge Cleaver, Minister of Information B.P.P.

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RULES OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS 1048 PERALTA STREET OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA

Every member of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY throughout this country of racist America must abide by these rul[e]s as functional members of this Party. CENTRAL COMMITTEE members, CENTRAL STAFFS, and LOCAL STAFFS, [in]cluding all captains subordinate to either national, state, [a]nd local leadership of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY will enforce these rules. Length of suspension or other disciplinary action necessary for violation of these rules will depend on national, state or state area, and local committees and staffs where said rule or rules of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY WERE VIOLATED.

Every member of the Party must know these verbatum by heart. And apply them daily. Each member must report any violation of these rules to their leadership or they are counter-revolutionary and are also subjected to suspension by the BLACK PANTHER PARTY.

THE RULES ARE:

1. No Party member can have narcotics or weed in his possession while doing Party work.
2. Any Party member found shooting narcotics will be expelled from this Party.
3. No Party member can be DRUNK while doing daily Party work.
4. No Party member will violate rules relating to office work, general meetings of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY, and meetings of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY ANYWHERE.
5. No Party member will USE, POINT, or FIRE a weapon of any kind unnecessarily or accidentally at anyone.
6. No Party member can join any other army force other than the BLACK LIBERATION ARMY.
7. No Party member can have a weapon in his possession while DRUNK or loaded off narcotics or weed.
8. No Party member wi[ll] commit any crime against other Party members or Black people at all, and cannot steal or take from the people, not even a needle or a piece of thread.
9. When arrested BLACK PANTHER MEMBERS will give only name, address, and will sign nothing. Legal first aid must be understood by all Party members.
10. The Ten Point Platform and Program of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY must be known and understood by each Party member.
11. Party Communications must be National and Local.
12. The 10-10-10-program should be known by all members and also understood by all members.
13. All Finance officers will operate under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Finance.
14. Each person will submit a report of daily work.
15. Each Sub-Section Leader, Section Leader, Lieutenant, and Captain must submit Daily reports of work.
16. All Panthers must learn to operate and service weapons correctly.
17. All Leadership personnel who expel a member must submit this information to the Editor of the Newspaper, so that it will be published in the paper and will be known by all Chapters and Branches.
18. Political Education Classes are mandatory for general membership.
19. Only office personnel assigned to respective offices each day should be there. All others are to sell papers and do Political work out in the community, including Captains, Section Leaders, etc.
20. COMMUNICATIONS--all Chapters must submit weekly reports in writing to the National Headquarters.
21. All Branches must implement First Aid and/or Medical Cadres.
22. All Chapters, Branches, and components of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY must submit a monthly Financial Report to the Ministry of Finance, and also the Central Committee.
23. Everyone in a leadership position must read no less than two hours per day to keep abreast of the changing political situation.
24. No Chapter or Bra[n]ch shall accept grants, poverty funds, money or any other aid from any government agency without contacting the National Headquarters.
25. All Chapters must adhere to the policy and the ideology laid down by the CENTRAL COMMITTEE of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY.
26. All Branches must submit weekly reports in writing to their respective Chapters.

REVOLUTIONARY INFORMATION

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ALBUM--Dig by Eldridge Cleaver, Minister of Information of the Black Panther Party. 3.50 each

POSTERS



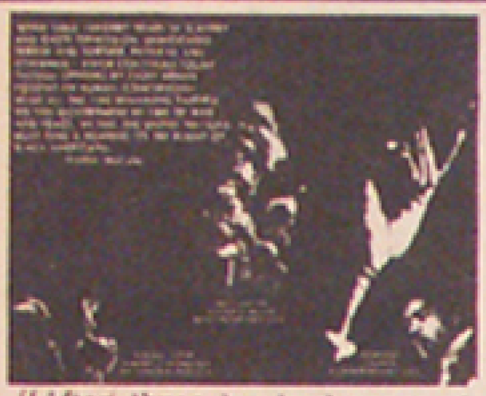
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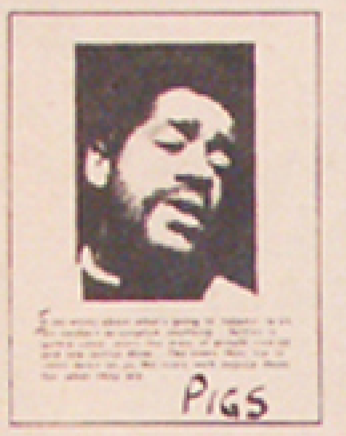
"You can jail a revolutionary but you can't jail the revolution, You can run a freedom fighter around the country, but you can't run freedom fighting around the country. You can murder a liberator but you can't murder liberation."-- Fred Hampton, Deputy Chairman, Ill Chapter of the Black Panther Party -- Born: August 30, 1948. Murdered by fascist pigs: December 4, 1969.
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Chairman Bobby Seale, and Minister of Defense Huey P. Newton
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"After three hundred years of slavery and caste oppression, unmitigated terror and torture, physical and otherwise--which continues today though opposed by every means possible of human conception--while all the time remaining faithful to this government in time of war and peace, we feel the United Nations must give a hearing to the plight of Black Americans."--Brother Malcolm (left to right) Eldridge Cleaver, Huey P. Newton, Malcolm X, Bobby Seale
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"If we worry about what's going to happen to us, we couldn't accomplish anything...Justice is gonna come when the masses of people rise up and see justice done...The more they try to come down on us, the more we'll expose them for what they are...PIGS."

Chairman Bobby Seale
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"Wherever death may surprise us, it will be welcome, provided that this, our battle cry, reach some receptive ear, that another hand stretch out to take up weapons and that other men come forward to intone our funeral dirge with the staccato of machine guns and new cries of battle and victory."--Che Guevara
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Poster of Eldridge Cleaver Minister of Information Black Panther Party
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Only on the bones of the oppressors can the people's freedom be founded -- Only the blood of the oppressors can fertilize the soil for the people's self-rule.
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ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE
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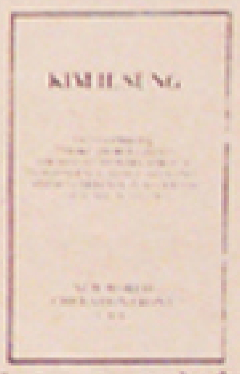
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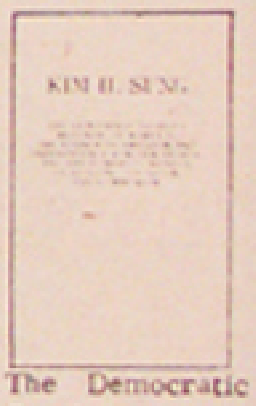
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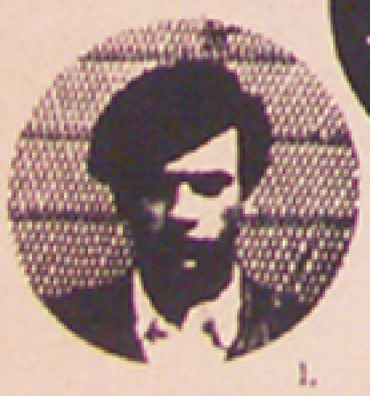


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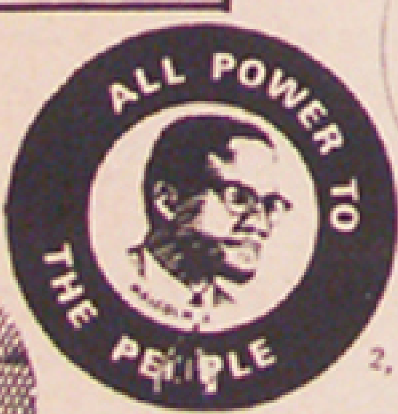


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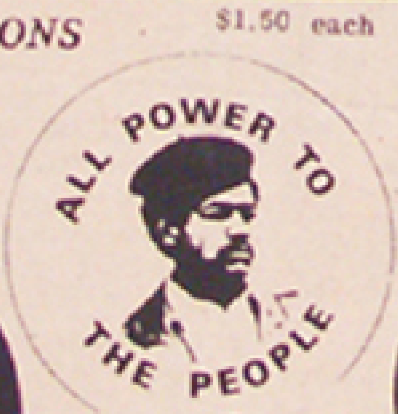
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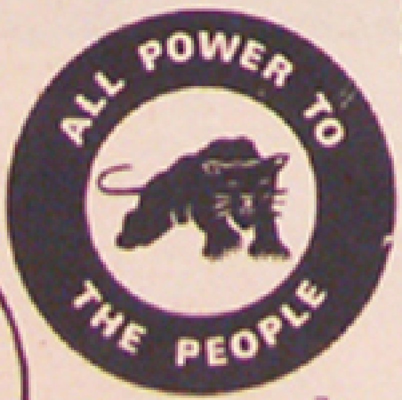
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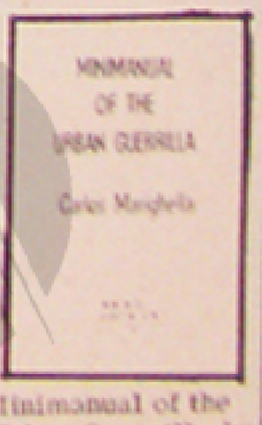
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THE PEOPLE ARE SAYING, "THE DAY THE PIGS ATTEMPT TO TURN ON THE SWITCH, TO THE ELECTRIC CHAIR ON CHAIRMAN BOBBY AND SISTER ERICKA, WILL BE THE DAY OF MASS EXECUTION OF ALL PIGS."



FREEDOM